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LABOR MUST ACT TO OPEN A WESTERN FRONT NOW

EDITORIAL

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ONE YEAR SINCE JUNE TWENTY-SECOND

V. J. JEROME

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INDIA AND THE WAR

JAMES S. ALLEN

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THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC WAR PLAN

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STRENGTHENING NATIONAL UNITY IN THE ELECTIONS

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STALIN'S ORDER OF THE DAY ON MAY FIRST

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THE COMMUNIST

A MAGAZINE OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM-LENINISM

EDITOR: EARL BROWDER

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LABOR MUST ACT TO OPEN A WESTERN FRONT NOW

AN EDITORIAL ARTICLE

THERE is a growing realization among the peoples of the United Nations that this is the year of great decision, that Hitler can be smashed this year, thus guaranteeing an overwhelming victory of the free peoples over the forces of fascist barbarism. That is why an ever stronger demand is rising among all peoples of the United Nations for the opening of a Second Front in Europe *now*.

There is a growing realization that Hitler Germany has been weakened, its armies having suffered severe blows at the hands of the heroic Red Army and the great Soviet people. Because of this, Nazi Germany is mustering all its remaining strength and the strength of its so-called allies, for a most desperate and frenzied attack on the Eastern Front. There is also a growing realization that Hitler is doomed to defeat this year provided the growing power and strength of the United Nations, especially that of our own country and Great Britain, are thrown into the battle in the West simultaneously with the counter-offensive of the mighty Red Army, which is even stronger and better equipped today than before June 22.

Likewise, there is the realization that the United Nations are already far superior to the Axis forces in every sense: in production of tanks, planes, ships, munitions, in the number of trained forces and in reserves; in morale and unity. At the same time, while the morale of the Soviet people as well as that of our country, Great Britain, China and the other United Nations is at its height, the people in Nazi Germany are showing unmistakable signs of discontent and doubt, and the spirit of revolt is rising rapidly in all the countries occupied by Nazi Germany. *This is why the sentiment and movement in America and Britain for an all-out counter-offensive against Nazi Germany are growing. This is why the peoples are determined to do everything to smash Hitler now, this year, and thereby bring about the speediest destruction of the entire Axis.*

This is why the demand for the opening of a Second Front in Europe now has become the most important and all-dominant issue in all of the United Nations. The Soviet people and the Red Army, through their deeds as well as through the historic words of the great Stalin, have made it clear that the just, liberation war against Hitler can and must be won this year. In Great Britain not only the laboring masses but even

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such spokesmen of big capital as Lord Beaverbrook have come out forcefully for the Second Front *now*. In many of the United Nations —China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Free France, Norway and others— spokesmen for these nations have called for an immediate attack against Hitler from the West. In our country not only increasing sections of the labor movement but also prominent political spokesmen, capitalists like former Ambassador Davies, military men like Lt. Col. Kernan demand the immediate opening of a Western Front.

At the same time, it must be recognized that in certain influential governmental circles there is still a hesitation to act decisively *now*. While in some Washington departments and agencies there is a changing attitude to the question of opening a major second front against Hitler Germany in the next months, nevertheless, in certain influential quarters, there is still an attitude of delay, of limiting the scope of offensive action this year against Hitler by the U.S.A. and Britain chiefly to air warfare. This hesitation and passivity often attempts to find a justification for itself in considerations of a "long-term strategy," a strategy based solely on air offensive and on supplying the Red Army with material for a "holding war" while the United Nations pile up reserves of materials and men which will be put into action on a major scale later, when, according to this viewpoint, the opening of a western front will not entail such great sacrifices or risks.

In reply to such opinions, it must be said, first of all, that they are not based either on a sober evaluation of the real relationship of forces now or on a sober evaluation of the process of development of this relationship of forces. They are rather unconsciously influenced by considerations which the Nazi propaganda machine has been assiduously and insidiously attempting to cultivate among the people of all nations. The whole object of the Nazi propaganda machine is to inspire such fear of the strength of the Nazi armies that the anti-Hitler forces are continuously tempted to postpone a counter-offensive until "better preparations have been made." Although the myth of Nazi invincibility has been smashed by the glorious struggle of the Soviet Union and its Red Army, the remnants of this myth still influence important circles in the form of an exaggerated "fear" of the strength of the Nazi armies, a fear which causes them to postpone efforts to reach a decision now in favor of the United Nations, to wait to strike the decisive blows, to cling to the suicidal policy of "too little and too late."

But what is the truth? Without in any way minimizing the remaining strength and striking power of the Nazi armies, it is a fact that they have been enormously weakened by the epic policy and powerful struggle and counter-attack of the Red Army during the past eleven months, as well as by the guerrilla warfare now extending throughout Nazi-occupied Europe. They have been weakened to the

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point where they can be smashed now with the armies and the resources which the United Nations have at their disposal *at the present moment* if only those armies and resources are actually used in common fighting action to crush Hitler between the hammer and anvil of a two-front war. Whoever claims that America and Britain are still not strong enough to invade the continent and open a second front is, consciously or unconsciously, reflecting the very ideas which the Hitler propaganda machine is so anxious to cultivate about the invincibility of the Nazi hordes. That is why all tendencies to wait, to hesitate, to postpone full, large-scale common fighting action of America and Britain together with the Soviet Union in Europe *now* play into the hands of Hitler and the Axis.

There are those who are inclined to postpone the moment of great decision on the ground that if we wait until we are better prepared we will be able to open a second front with less sacrifice and suffering than if we would open it now. Such calculations indicate not only an unworthy and selfish disregard for the agonies of the people in the occupied countries and for the sufferings and sacrifice of the great people of the Soviet Union and its Red Army, who are told to suffer more now in order that we may suffer less later. They also indicate a dangerous blindness to the fact that such a course would inevitably lead to greater and not less suffering, privation, bloodshed for the people of Britain and America as well. For it is not at all excluded that, unless a second front is opened immediately, Hitler may partially succeed in breaking through to new sources of raw materials, especially of oil, which will enable the Nazis to prolong the war still further and thus increase enormously the sacrifices that we will have to make in order to crush Hitler and the Axis. Then all the calculations which are now being made about what our resources, raw materials, armies and reserves will be later when "we are better prepared" will go to naught because then Hitler also will be "better prepared." Our present, and still more, our future superiority does and will have meaning only if it is acted on *now*. Those who hesitate to act for fear of potential sacrifices and risks are only preparing a future of still greater sacrifices and risks for the people of the United Nations and placing the common cause in grave jeopardy.

That is why all such hesitation, all such passivity, all such inclinations to wait must be overcome at once and the full power of Britain and America thrown into a second front in Western Europe, into fighting jointly with the Soviet Union against Hitler Germany, the main enemy, the heart and center of the fascist Axis.

* * *

It is primarily the working class which must take the lead in the fight to overcome all attitudes of hesitation and passivity, to rouse and mobilize the people and the nation in the direction of opening a second front *now!* The American

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working class is in favor of opening a second front now. Of this there can be no doubt. The workers and the trade union movement have shown it not only by their resolutions, but also by their loyal, self-sacrificing devotion to every phase of the war effort. They have shown it by their disciplined and willing acceptance of the no-strike policy, by their growing support for the President's "National Economic Policy," by their sharpening vigilance against the forces of appeasement and defeatism within and without the labor movement, especially against the traitorous activities of John L. Lewis. They are showing it every day by the new feats of labor heroism and records in war production.

The recent A. F. of L. and C.I.O. conventions in Pennsylvania, the greatest industrial state in the Union, emphasized the patriotic and anti-fascist stand of labor in the progressive anti-fascist character of their deliberations and by the forthright position that they took on most vital issues relating to the nation's war effort. But at the same time, these two great gatherings also revealed what is still the main weakness of the labor movement. The A. F. of L. convention, even though its delegates were in favor of the opening of a Second Front, failed to take a stand on this question through official action. The C.I.O. convention, while expressing its general approval of an offensive-military policy, was satisfied to leave the final decision on this vital question to the "military experts."

This action of the Pennsylvania C.I.O. Industrial Council emphasizes once more what is without doubt one of the main immediate tasks before all the most conscious anti-fascists and especially the Communist and left forces in the labor movement. *It is to rouse, mobilize and activize the entire working class and through it all of the American people for immediate all-out action to crush Hitler and Hitlerism this year through the opening of a Second Front now. And secondly, to make the working class conscious of its role and special responsibility in the struggle against fascism, for the freedom and independence of our country.*

The resolution of the C.I.O. convention declares:

"We believe that offensive action is necessary for the successful prosecution of the war and that a second front should be considered and decided by our Commander-in-Chief and our military experts that are in possession of the facts as to military alliances and the committees to be set up with our war allies."

Thus it can be seen that while the convention, influenced by recent developments and by the world-wide demand for a second front, was ready to go on record for offensive action in general, it failed to take a definite stand for a second front *now*. It was influenced to leave this burning question for decision by the President and the military experts. Those who defended this stand against the delegates who favored a definite declaration for the immediate opening of a second front

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in Europe *now,* stated, and in truth, that they were not opponents of the second front, but yet they were satisfied to leave the decision to others on the one or another or all of the following grounds: first, they claimed that such political-military questions were not within the province of the trade union; secondly, they claimed that they were not in possession of all the facts as to the necessity and possibility of opening up a second front; and third, they believed that an express call for such action before the Administration had so decided would be interpreted as a lack of confidence in the Administration.

This position of the majority of the convention reflects a lack of full understanding both of the present decisive moment and of the role and responsibility of labor in the war effort. It is a position fraught with the greatest danger not only to the working class but to the entire nation. It is in fact a position which, far from helping the President and the nation in the struggle against Hitlerism and the appeasers and defeatists, in reality tends to weaken the national war effort.

It is necessary to analyze this position of the Pennsylvania C.I.O. convention because it unfortunately reflects, more or less, the position of many sections of the trade union movement. It is true that a growing number of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. trade unions, especially the latter, have been speaking out and mobilizing the people for the second front, for a policy of all-out action to smash Hitler this year. It is true that this already includes some of the most important national or local organizations in such important industries as auto, aircraft, marine, steel, etc., as well as the largest City Councils. But the fact is that the organized strength of the whole mass of 11 million trade unionists has not as yet been fully thrown into the scales in favor of this policy. By and large, most national leaders of the trade union movement still reflect the position taken by the Pennsylvania C.I.O. convention.

In the first place, it must be stated that the attitude which considers action on such political-military questions not within the sphere of the trade unions reflects a very narrow and dangerous conception of the role of the working class and the trade unions. It is a carry-over and a reflection of the old policy of "no politics in the unions." The working class and its organizations—the trade unions—cannot shirk responsibility for action on such vital questions. It is the business of the trade union movement to deal with this question just as it must deal with wages, hours, working conditions, the problems of taxes, price fixing, rationing, production, priorities, and numerous other questions. It is the main business of the trade union movement to deal with this question just as it must deal with elections, government, domestic and foreign policy.

There was a time when many of these questions were not taken up by the unions. The unions limited themselves frequently to questions of wages, hours and working con-

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ditions, in a given shop or industry. But today all this has changed. The unions have already learned that they cannot defend the economic interests and the rights of the workers without being concerned with all political questions. Some employers still resent the workers' concern with maximum production and oppose the participation of labor in the joint management-labor committees. But the trade unions have demonstrated that they are able to make great contributions to the national war effort by their participation. They have demonstrated that they were more far-sighted than most employers on such questions, for example, as conversion from peace to war industry and in the speeding up of production generally, when they advanced the Reuther Plan, the Murray Plan and similar proposals in various industries.

Not every worker is an "expert" economist or engineer, yet the trade unions are concerned with, take up a position on and fight for proposals dealing with economic questions and with production. What is more, by this position the workers champion not only their own interests but the interests of the entire nation. Similarly it is not necessary that every worker be a military "expert," for the trade unions to take a position on how to prosecute this war most effectively, on how to win the nations' and peoples' war for national freedom and democratic liberties.

In fact the record of quite a number of military "experts" has, if anything, been little better than that of some of the big business "economic and production" experts. If the unions have proven to be more far-sighted than the Gano Duns, Knudsens and Jesse Joneses, in the matter of raw material and war production expansion, so have the common people proven more correct than the military "experts" on the most crucial military estimates. Thus, for example, most of our "military" experts expected the Red Army to be defeated and smashed in from two to six weeks. And they made their plans accordingly. We know now how correct they were. According to the military "experts" China should have been defeated a long time ago. But we know the Chinese people are still fighting and are in fact today one of the most indispensable factors for the defeat of Japan. The years before the war and the many experiences since offer sufficient evidence to show that all matters affecting the war and the destruction of fascism are the deepest and greatest responsibility and concern of all the people and cannot be left merely to the "specialists."

This does not mean that we can afford to underestimate the importance of the engineer in production, or the military specialist in the art and science of war. On the contrary, we perhaps today more than ever before recognize the value and the great contributions of these men, of those who devotedly serve and support our national objectives. *But we also recognize that in this war, the People's War, the war of liberation against fascist enslavement, the people who must fight this war at the front and behind the*

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front have the duty and responsibility not only for fighting but for participating in the great decisions that will decide the outcome of the war and therefore the fate of all nations and of humanity itself for a long time to come.

In fact, any tendency for the trade unions to keep silent about such political-military questions unconsciously plays into the hands of all defeatist forces, including the Lewis clique. In respect to the latter, it is precisely the tactics of John L. Lewis to try and immobilize the trade unions as a force helping to win the war by trying to divert them from any discussion or action on winning the war or the issues raised by the war. A perfect example of how the defeatist Lewis forces employ this tactic is to be found in the fact that because of Lewis' defeatist policies and his dictatorial control of the U.M.W.A. and District 50 of the U.M.W.A., these unions, of all the important unions of the country in basic industry, have so far failed to advance a single proposal for their full and most active participation in the war effort. It goes without saying that the Lewis forces are also moving heaven and earth to prevent not only their own but all unions from speaking out on the second front. Were the unions to keep silent on the second front all defeatist forces, including John L. Lewis and his "America First" associates, would consider this a victory for their own policy of keeping win-the-war politics out of the unions—and injecting lose-the-war politics into them instead.

Secondly, the working class has the greatest responsibility for the fate of the nation and therefore must know the facts about every vital question especially in relation to the opening up of a second front. Once it realizes the situation, it will and must develop greater political and organizing initiative in helping crystallize a more powerful nation-wide demand for an all-out counter-offensive against Hitlerism not next year but *now*. And the facts are here for everyone to see and to understand.

Hitler fascism has already received severe blows at the hands of the Red Army. It has been weakened considerably but it still has the power for one last monstrous effort out of which it hopes to emerge from the present stalemate. For this purpose Hitler is gathering all of his forces and the forces of his so-called "allies," to be hurled against the Soviet Union. Hitler knows that he must throw everything he can muster into this last great effort. He knows that the United Nations are growing stronger, that the spirit of revolt in the occupied countries is growing greater and that discontent is spreading in Germany itself. Hitler has concentrated 90 per cent of his armed forces on the Eastern Front. Is it necessary to be a military "expert" to understand that *now* is the time to open up the Western Front against Hitler with everything that the United Nations can muster, and thus assure the speedy defeat of Nazi Germany and thereby of the fascist Axis as a whole?

For it must not be assumed that

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Hitler cannot succeed in breaking through to new sources of much needed raw materials, *unless all the United Nations act simultaneously.* When Nazi Germany attacked the U.S.S.R. last summer there were those who speculated that the U.S.S.R would not hold out for many weeks or at best months. There were others who "prayed" that it would hold out at least through the winter and then they said we would be ready to take the offensive against Hitler. The whole world knows that there were days and hours before Moscow when the whole future of humanity hung in the balance. A Western front at that time or even when the Red Army administered the first big defeat to the Nazi hordes at Rostov could have been undertaken. Had this been done then the world might be quite different today. In any event, what reason is there today for failure to throw the major forces of Britain and the United States into battle against Hitler now from the West? If the U.S.S.R. is compelled to face the Hitler hordes alone in the coming months, and if the U.S.S.R. should face further losses, would the United Nations be in a better position for a future attack against Hitler than we are today?

Have America and Britain the materials. the forces, the ships for the opening of a Western Front? We could not possibly be in a better position if we should ever have to face an attack on Hitler's main forces than we are today when the U.S.S.R. is valiantly, effectively and single-handedly engaging fully 90 per cent of the Nazi forces. Some say that Britain cannot risk an attack *now* because she must preserve her forces at home against the threat of a Nazi invasion of the British Isles. But no sane person really believes that if Hitler is faced with the strengthened Red Army plus a *second front* he can even dream of an invasion of Britain. In fact only if Britain, together with the U.S.A., should fail to act now jointly with the U.S.S.R. and if, as a result, Hitler should succeed in weakening the Red Army compelled to fight alone, only then would a real danger of a Hitler invasion of Britain arise.

With these facts at hand, recognizing the imminent danger that we face, at the same time recognizing the great—perhaps never to be repeated—possibilities that the peoples and United Nations have for unitedly smashing Hitler, can the American working class adopt the attitude that it can have no say on such a life-and-death question? Can the trade unions shirk their responsibility to the working class and to the whole people with the plea that "we do not have all the facts"? Can we merely leave this issue to be decided by the military experts?

Surely the President, who as Commander-in-Chief has the re-responsibility to weigh the issues before him and together with our military leaders and the leaders of the other United Nations to make the vital military decisions, should know what labor thinks about this question. After all, the stand and proposals of labor count in every sense and are also a real military factor to be considered in this war

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in which not only soldiers fight but whole peoples. Undoubtedly, on this issue as on others, the President is confronted with those who are daring and ready to act as well as with men who because of prejudice, tradition, etc., are apt to counsel delay and procrastination. Undoubtedly there are hesitations in Administration circles on the opening of a Second Front in Europe now. The working class and the whole people must by their insistent activity and demand for a Second Front strive to put an end to these hesitations and help bring about an immediate offensive against Hitler in the west. The question of the Second Front is the most important political-military question which the people must decide; where to direct the main military blows in Western Europe, the military disposition of forces, etc., this our leaders in the government and armed forces will decide.

Finally, it is clear that when the working class and the trade unions advance their position on such questions as that of production, tax policy, price fixing, rationing, or when they advance the demand for labor participation in the cabinet and in other government agencies this does not represent a lack of confidence in the Administration. Neither would their bold and forthright stand in favor of a Second Front *now*. The fact is that the workers and people by their united mass action around the above-mentioned issues, strengthened the war effort, advanced the day of victory over Hitler and the Axis powers. In a similar manner by vigorously mobilizing and campaigning for the second front the workers are also strengthening our country's war effort and hastening the crushing of Hitler and Hitlerism everywhere.

On many occasions in the past the President publicly stated that he hesitated to act on issues because he thought that the people were not yet ready. Well, let the people tell the President in no uncertain terms that they are ready *now*. Let the workers tell the President that they are ready to work any hours necessary to produce the war materials, that they are ready to forego anything, including necessities, to free all ships now carrying consumer goods, for the purpose of transporting men and material to the decisive Eastern and Western Fronts against Hitler in Europe. Let us learn the lesson from the slavery into which the people of occupied Europe have been cast by the conquest of Hitler. Let us learn from the Soviet people that there are no obstacles that the will of the peoples cannot overcome. Let us in this spirit in every ship, mill and factory, in every community and organization, in every local union, in every national trade union, elect delegations and committees, and adopt resolutions and forward them to our Commander-in-Chief, informing him that *we are ready*. Let us throw the full support of the working class and its trade unions behind the policy of an all-out counter-offensive for the smashing of Hitler and Hitlerism this year, while we continue to inflict heavy losses upon the Japanese aggressors, and avenge the Filipino and Amer-

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ican heroes of Bataan and Corregidor. When Hitler falls the Mikado's head will not be far behind.

* * *

No one of consequence in America today dares openly to challenge the need for national unity. But we must be clear what is meant by national unity. The appeasers and defeatists mean by national unity that their policies be adopted by the nation, that they be allowed to continue their work to divide the nation, to endanger the country's war effort, to open the road to the conquest of our nation by Hitler and Japan. But we understand national unity to mean just the opposite. We understand it to mean that we shall silence these enemies of our country, that we shall make it impossible for them to carry on their disruptive and treasonable activities.

We mean by national unity the unity of all true patriots, all those who put the interests of the nation above the interests of any group or class, all who wish to crush and annihilate fascism. But it cannot be denied that among those who desire the smashing of the fascist danger there are many who have not yet fully freed themselves from old prejudices, who have not yet risen to the point where, for instance, they are ready to abandon all "business as usual."

Some capitalist groups, and they include such organizations of the employers as the National Association of Manufacturers, still show strong tendencies not only to do business as usual, but even to try to take advantage of the present emergency and of the patriotism of the workers, to weaken the labor movement. If they know that by doing this they are weakening the war effort, weakening national unity, then they are consciously aiding the enemy. If they are not aware of this, the result is just as dangerous. The labor movement has the task of winning the masses of the people of all classes in defense of the trade unions, and to repel and defeat these attacks by employer groups and their spokesmen in Congress.

The whole nation must be convinced that without a powerful, influential and active labor movement Hitlerism cannot be destroyed, there can be no successful defense of the national existence and independence of our country.

Why is this so? First, just consider what the Hitlerites have done to the trade union movement in Germany and in every other country which they have conquered. One of their first acts was to disband the trade unions, and arrest or execute their leaders. Obviously the Nazis did this because they know that the working class and its trade unions are the most deadly and uncompromising enemies of fascism and of its so-called "new order." Hitler and the predatory German imperialists know that the working class and the trade unions are the main support of national independence, the centers of resistance to fascism in every country. They know that while Nazi Germany can do business with some capitalist groups, with some repre-

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sentatives of the big landed interests, that they can find Quislings among them and their political representatives, the Nazis can find no support in the working class and its organizations. This is shown in France, in Poland, in Czechoslovakia and in all countries occupied by Hitler or by Japan. The handful of renegades and corrupted hirelings of the Doriot type have long been exposed and spewed out by the working class and never dare put their foot into a working class neighborhood without being surrounded by the Hitler Gestapo. Those who try to carry the poison of the fascists and appeasers into the ranks of our labor movement will suffer the same fate.

Secondly, we see that in our country just as in Great Britain the working class stands in the forefront of the anti-fascist national war effort. It was the masses who forced Chamberlain to surrender his office and later forced some of the remaining appeasers out of the Churchill cabinet. No class and group gives more loyal and self-sacrificing support to President Roosevelt and the government in developing and implementing the nation's war policy than the workers and the trade unions. We see that in such countries as Argentina and Chile it is the working class and the Communists in the first place as the most advanced section of the working class who carry on the fight for the application of the decisions of the Rio Conference. In India it is the working class and the Communists who stand in the forefront of the struggle against Gandhism and for the defense and national rights of India jointly with the United Nations against Japanese aggression. And finally every one must draw the obvious lesson from the fact that in the only country where the workers and toilers are in power—the Soviet Union—the country which by its heroism and unprecedented struggle shattered the myth of Nazi invincibility, that there Hitler has been unable to find a single Quisling.

The record shows that among the big monopoly capitalists there were some who allowed their international connections, their business dealings with Germany and Japan, to be carried on in a way that aided our enemies and endangered the war program of our own country. On the other hand the international solidarity of the working class and the trade unions has everywhere strengthened the influence of the cause of America, of the United Nations, of the peoples of all lands.

* * *

The working class, by its very long struggle for liberty and progress, by the aspirations that it has for a better world for all the people, has been prepared to play its role today as the most self-sacrificing element in our country's struggle against fascist barbarism, for national survival, independence and progress. Every gain that the workers have made in creating their trade union organizations, in winning improved conditions and political rights, is today an added incentive in their struggle against fascism. The struggle of the labor

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movement for the rights of all oppressed groups as for example the Negro people has helped and is helping today to strengthen national unity to win the war against Hitlerism. The workers today fight not for their special interests but for the interests of the whole nation. They know that the victory of fascism would mean the victory of barbaric reaction, slavery and darkness. In a fascist dominated America there would be no trade unions, no trade union agreements, no civil liberties, no freedom of thought or religion, no human dignity. The workers know that with the victory of fascism decades of progress would be wiped out and humanity thrown back to the medieval dark ages. That is why the workers fight unconditionally to destroy Hitler and fascist tyranny; they place no conditions on their patriotism, their loyalty and devotion to our country and people, to our democratic heritage and future.

But it cannot be said that the working class as a whole yet *fully* realizes the actual and immediate danger that threatens our nation, or the possibility that is within the grasp of the peoples and the United Nations to put a quick end to the menace which hangs over all of us. This is why even in some sections of the working class there are still hesitations and reliance on others to make decisions as regards the necessity to throw everything into the battle *now*. That is why sections of the working class have not yet fully freed themselves from the influences of those who believe that time is on our side, and that we can take our time to prepare for the final onslaught against Hitlerism—that we can afford to wait for this till sometime in 1943 or 1944. That is why some sections of the labor movement are reluctant to face all issues in a manner that would show to the whole country that it is the labor movement which is the most farsighted, the most self-sacrificing, the most reliable force, the backbone of our nation. That is why labor, which does in fact embody all these qualities, does not always develop or retain the political initiative, but in many cases allows itself to be placed on the defensive.

There are those who say that Hitler is no danger to our country, that Japan was provoked into war by President Roosevelt. These are open enemies of our country. They can have and do have no influence in the labor movement. They dare not even say these things openly any more for they know that the American people not only would not believe them but would demand that they be treated as traitors.

There are those who preach that we should limit ourselves to defending our shores. The country has already learned to appreciate that such counsel comes right out of the mouth of Goebbels. Few in the country and certainly few in the labor movement can be misled by this enemy propaganda.

There are those who counsel that we should concentrate our war effort against Japan, and that we should not concern ourselves with Hitler who they say after all does not threaten the United States "directly." Already the American

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people have been able to pierce through the propaganda of the enemy, who would like nothing better than that we should fall into this trap. Of course we must fight and are fighting against Japan, but the fact is that the battlefield where the war will be decided—*the whole war—is in Europe and against Hitler Germany, and now, this year.*

There are those who would divide us from our allies—the Soviet Union, Great Britain, China and other United Nations by their insidious lies and by the raising of false issues. Most sections of the labor movement are becoming increasingly aware of this menace and are combatting the fifth columnist and defeatist propaganda and activity. More and more in the labor movement there is growing the understanding of the just character of the war, of the necessity for the maximum unity of action of the United Nations, of the historic role that the Soviet Union and its heroic Red Armies are playing in the cause of world freedom and the independence of our country. Ever greater becomes the voice in the labor movement — and it must become a unanimous chorus—demanding that the American trade union movement join with the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee in common purpose and common actions, for our common cause.

But there is not yet an equal understanding in the labor movement of our country that the decisive moment is now *and that decisive and united fighting action by the U.S.A., England and the U.S.S.R. against Hitler must be undertaken* now *in order that the United Nations may determine the course of events, in order that Hitler and the Hitlerites shall be destroyed this year.*

* * *

Together with all patriotic Americans, irrespective of class, race or creed, the working class is joined in the anti-fascist national front for the common objective of smashing Hitlerism and Japanese militarism, for the preservation of the liberty and independence of our country. While it has no aims in this war that are not the aims of all patriotic and anti-fascist Americans, nonetheless labor has a special responsibility. This responsibility flows from the position of the working class in modern society, from the role that labor plays and must play as the backbone of the nation.

The working class is the most progressive class in our country. It is the most progressive class in every country. The working class, the toilers, from the very inception of our nation, have been the most determined fighters for the cause of progress, for the unity, independence and future of our country and people. Every critical period in our history proves this. It was so in the first War of Independence even though then the working class in the modern sense was only in its formative stage. In the Civil War against slavery the working class, already grown in numbers and maturity, played an even greater

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role. But at that time the working class did not as yet occupy the position that it does today in relation to other classes.

Today, by its very strength of numbers, by its growing political maturity, by its experience, by its aspirations, by its position in the production system, the working class is the most united, the most determined, the most indispensable force in the struggle for our our country's independence, for progress and for liberty. It is the most consistent and dependable fighter against fascism. For this reason it has a responsibility for the fate of the nation which it has never before known in all of its long history.

By fully assuming its great responsibility, the working class can and must enthuse and unite around itself all the common people—the farmers, the Negro people, the white collar workers, the scientists, the professionals. Together with all patriotic Americans of all classes and in struggle against all enemies abroad and at home—fascists, appeasers, defeatists—it can and must forge that unbreakable bond of anti-fascist unity that will assure the victory of the people in 1942. The degree of national unity that we achieve will depend largely on the strength, unity, political initiative and activity of the trade unions. This must be and increasingly is being recognized not only by the workers but also by all patriots, regardless of class or social position, by all who put the interests of the nation above their own narrow and special interests.

As a part of its fight for the second front, as a prerequisite for the victory over fascism, the trade union movement especially must be won to the position of working for the strengthening of the alliance of our country with all of the United Nations, particularly to cement ever firmer in common fighting action the bonds of friendship and solidarity of the United States with the U.S.S.R. As an important step in this direction there should be maximum cooperation and the immediate affiliation of all of the trade union centers, the C.I.O., the A. F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhoods, to and with the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee.

The struggle for the offensive, for victory over fascism, demands that the labor movement adopt the most resolute position and determined action against all appeasers, defeatists, fascist and pro-fascists in our country and their influences upon and within the labor movement. This policy must be made the yardstick in the crucial Congressional and state elections which have already begun with primaries taking place now and in the next weeks and months. United labor in coalition with all patriotic and anti-fascist Americans should develop an anti-Hitler program and campaign and unite around those candidates whose record and policies are the guarantee that they subordinate everything to the winning of the war against Hitler this year, who will reinforce the struggle against Japanese militarism, who by their policies and actions contribute to anti-fascist national unity, to the strengthening of the

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war effort, to the opening of the Western Front in Europe now, to reinforcing the alliance and joint fighting actions of the United Nations.

All conscious anti-fascists, especially all Communists and Communist sympathizers, have the great responsibility to strive for the maximum unity of action of the whole labor movement and of all freedom-loving people. They must do so in a manner that will by their deeds, by their work in war production plants, by their support of every phase of the war effort, as well as by their initiative, activities and persuasion help unite, rally and convince all of the workers, the entire trade union movement, and all of the people that now is the moment of great decision, that now everything must be thrown into a great united offensive to destroy Hitlerism, that to wait, to hesitate, to delay, to flinch from this decisive struggle for any reason whatsoever is to be guilty of bringing aid to weakened fascism, to become in fact its ally. It is in this spirit that the working class and all anti-fascists must fight for and demand the opening of a Second Front against Hitler in Europe immediately. The working class can gain new strength for this great cause and decisive task by the realization that it is within the power of the peoples and the United Nations to put an end to Hitler and Hitlerism this year.

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STALIN'S ORDER OF THE DAY ON MAY DAY, 1942

(The following is the text of the Order of the Day to the Red Army issued on May 1 by Joseph Stalin, People's Commissar of Defense and Chairman of the State Defense Committee of the U.S.S.R.)

COMRADES — men, commanders and political workers of the Red Army and Red Navy; guerrillas, men and women; workers, men and women; peasants, men and women; brain workers, men and women; brothers and sisters beyond the front line, in the rear of the German fascist troops, who have temporarily fallen under the yoke of the German oppressors! On behalf of the Soviet Government and our Bolshevik Party, I greet and congratulate you on May Day!

Comrades! This year the peoples of our country celebrate International May Day in conditions of patriotic war against the German fascist invaders. The war has laid its imprint on every aspect of our life. It has laid its imprint also on this day, on the May 1 celebration. Mindful of the war situation, the working people of our country have renounced their holiday rest in order to pass this day in intense labor for the defense of our country. Living at one with our men at the front, they have converted the May 1 celebration into a day of labor and struggle, in order to give maximum assistance to the front and supply it with more rifles, machine guns, trench mortars, tanks, aircraft, ammunition, bread, meat, fish and vegetables. This means that, with us, front and rear form a single, indivisible fighting camp, ready to overcome any difficulties on the road to victory over the enemy.

Comrades! More than two years have elapsed since the German fascist invaders plunged Europe into the abyss of war, subjugating the freedom-loving countries of the European continent—France, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece—and sucked their blood for the enrichment of German bankers. More than ten months have elapsed since the German fascist invaders basely and treacherously attacked our country and began plundering and devastating our villages and towns, outraging and murdering the peaceful population of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, the Ukraine and Moldavia. For more than ten months the peoples of our country have been waging a patriotic war against the bestial

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enemy, in defense of the honor and freedom of their motherland.

In this time we have had opportunity to gain sufficient knowledge of the German fascists, to understand their real intentions, to know their true face and understand it not according to their verbal profession but from the experience of war, from universally known facts. Who, then, are these enemies of ours, the German fascists? What kind of people are they? What does the experience of war teach us on this point?

It is said that the German fascists are nationalists, protecting the integrity and independence of Germany against attacks on the part of other states. This is of course a lie. Only liars can assert that Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Greece, the Soviet Union and other freedom-loving countries made attempts on the integrity and independence of Germany. In reality the German fascists are not nationalists but imperialists, who seize foreign lands and suck their blood to enrich German bankers and plutocrats. Goering, chief of the German fascists, is himself well known as one of the biggest bankers and plutocrats, exploiting dozens of factories and plants. Hitler, Goebbels, Ribbentrop, Himmler and other rulers of Germany today are the watchdogs of German bankers and place the interests of the latter above all other interests. The German Army is a blind tool in the hands of these gentlemen and is called on to shed its own blood and the blood of other peoples and to cripple itself and other peoples not for the interests of Germany, but for the enrichment of the German bankers and plutocrats. This is what the experience of war tells us.

It is said that the German fascists are Socialists, endeavoring to defend the interests of the workers and peasants against the plutocrats. This is of course a lie. Only liars can assert that the German fascists, who introduced slave labor in their plants and factories and re-established a system of serfdom in the villages of Germany and of subjugated countries, are defenders of the workers and peasants. Only insolent liars can deny that the system of slavery and serfdom instituted by the German fascists is advantageous to the German plutocrats and bankers, and not to the workers and peasants. In reality, the German fascists are reactionaries, serf owners, and the German Army is the army of the serf owners, shedding blood to enrich the German barons and re-establish the power of the land owners. This is what the experience of war tells us.

It is said that the German fascists are carriers of European culture, waging war for the dissemination of this culture in other countries. This is of course a lie. Only professional liars can assert that the German fascists, who have filled Europe with gallows, who plunder and outrage peaceful populations, burn and blow up towns and villages and destroy the cultural values of the peoples of Europe, can be the bearers of European culture. In reality the German fascists are enemies of European culture, and the German Army is an army of

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medieval obscurantism, called upon to destroy European culture and assert the slave-owning "culture" of German bankers and barons. This is what the experience of war tells us.

This is the face of our enemy, exposed and brought to light by the experience of war. But the experience of war is not restricted to these conclusions. The experience of war show in addition that, in the period of the war, important changes have taken place both in the position of fascist Germany and its army, and in the position of our own country and the Red Army. What are these changes?

It is beyond doubt, first, that in this period fascist Germany and its army have become weaker than they were ten months ago. The war has brought grave disillusionments, millions of human sacrifices, starvation and poverty to the German people. The end of the war is not in sight, and reserves of manpower are coming to an end, oil is coming to an end, raw materials are coming to an end. Realization that Germany's defeat is inevitable is growing on the German people. The German people realize with growing clarity that the only way out of the present situation is to liberate Germany from the adventurist clique of Hitler and Goering.

Hitlerite imperialism has occupied vast territories in Europe, but it has failed to break the will to resist of the European peoples. The enslaved peoples' struggle against the regime of the German fascist highwaymen is beginning to acquire a universal character. Sabotage at war plants, explosions in German storehouses, wrecking of German military trains, murder of German officers and soldiers have become common occurrences in all the occupied countries. Whole Yugoslav and Soviet districts occupied by the Germans are swept by the conflagration of guerrilla war. All these circumstances have resulted in weakening the German rear, and consequently in weakening fascist Germany as a whole.

As for the German Army, despite its stubbornness in defense, it is nevertheless much weaker than ten months ago. Its old, experienced generals like Reichenau, Brauchitsch, Todt and others have either been killed by the Red Army or else driven out by the ruling German fascist group. Its regular officer corps has been partly exterminated by the Red Army and partly demoralized as a result of plunder and violence against the civilian population. Its rank-and-file effectives, badly weakened during war operations, receive less and less reinforcements.

It is beyond doubt, second, that in the past period of war our country has become stronger than it was at the beginning of the war. Not only our friends but even our enemies are bound to admit that our country is now united and rallied around its government more closely than ever before, that front and rear in our country are united in a single fighting camp, firing at the same target, that the Soviet people in the rear supply our front with constantly growing quantities of rifles and machine guns, trench

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mortars and guns, tanks and aircraft, food and ammunition.

As for the international relations of our motherland, they have recently grown and gained strength as never before. All freedom-loving peoples have joined forces against German imperialism. Their eyes are turned to the Soviet Union. The heroic struggle which the peoples of our country are waging for their freedom, honor and independence calls forth the admiration of all progressive humanity. The peoples of all freedom-loving countries regard the Soviet Union as a force capable of saving the world from the Hitlerite plague. First place among these freedom-loving countries is held by Great Britain and the United States of America, to which we are bound by ties of friendship and alliance and which are rendering our country constantly increasing military assistance against the German fascist invaders. All these circumstances show that our country has become much stronger.

Lastly, it is beyond doubt that in the past period the Red Army has become better organized and stronger than it was at the beginning of the war. One cannot regard as accidental the universally known fact that, after the temporary retreat caused by the treacherous attack of the German imperialists, the Red Army brought about a change in the course of the war and passed from active defense to successful offense against the enemy troops. The fact is that, thanks to Red Army successes, the patriotic war has entered a new stage—the stage of liberation of the Soviet lands from the Hitlerite vermin. True, the Red Army undertook execution of this historical task in the difficult conditions of a severe and snowy winter, but nevertheless it achieved great success.

Having taken into its hands the initiative in war operations, the Red Army inflicted a number of severe defeats on the German fascist troops and compelled them to evacuate a considerable part of Soviet territory. The invaders' plan to take advantage of the winter for a respite and consolidation of positions along their defense line suffered a fiasco. In the course of its offensive, the Red Army annihilated enormous amounts of enemy manpower and equipment, captured a fairly large quantity of equipment from the enemy and compelled him prematurely to expend his reserves from the distant rear, which had been destined for spring and summer operations. All this shows that the Red Army has become better organized and stronger, that its officers' corps has grown steeled in battle and its generals more experienced and far-sighted.

A change has also taken place in the Red Army rank and file. Complacency and heedlessness in the attitude toward the enemy, observed among Red Army men in the first months of the patriotic war, have disappeared. The atrocities, plunder and violence perpetrated by the German fascist invaders upon the non-combatant population and Soviet war prisoners have cured our men of this disease. Red Army men

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have become more bitter and ruthless. They have learned really to hate the German fascist invaders. They have realized that one cannot defeat the enemy without learning to hate him heart and soul.

There is no more idle talk of the invincibility of the German troops, which occurred at the beginning of the war and which served to disguise fear of the Germans. The famous battles at Rostov and Kerch, at Moscow and Kalinin, at Tikhvin and Leningrad, in which the Red Army put the German fascist invaders to flight, convinced our Red Army that idle talk about the invincibility of the German troops is but a fairy tale invented by fascist propagandists. The experience of war has convinced our Red Army men that the so-called courage of the German officer is something highly relative, that the German officer displays courage when dealing with unarmed war prisoners and the peaceful civilian population, but that courage leaves him when he is confronted by the organized strength of the Red Army. Recall the popular saying: "Brave when facing a sheep, but a sheep when facing the brave."

These are the conclusions from the experience of war with the German fascist invaders. What do they show? They show that we can and must continue to smite the German fascist invaders in the future until their final extermination and the final liberation of the Soviet land from the Hitlerite scoundrels.

Comrades! We are waging a patriotic war of liberation, a just war. We do not set ourselves the aim of seizing foreign countries, of conquering foreign peoples. Our aim is clear and noble. We want to liberate our Soviet land from the German fascist scoundrals. We want to liberate our brothers, the Ukrainians, Moldavians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians and Karelians, from the disgrace and humiliation to which they are subjected by the German fascist scoundrels.

To achieve this aim we must defeat the German fascist army and exterminate the German occupants to the last man, as long as they will not surrender. There is no other way. We can do this and we must do this at any cost. The Red Army possesses everything necessary to achieve this lofty aim. Only one thing is lacking—ability to make full use against the enemy of the first-rate armament supplied to it by our motherland. Therefore the task of the Red Army—its men, its machine gunners, its artillerymen, its trench mortar crews, its tankists, its fliers and cavalrymen—is to study military art, to study persistently, to learn their arms to perfection, to become experts in their line, and thus to learn to defeat the enemy surely. Only in this way can one learn the art of defeating the enemy.

Comrades! Men, commanders and political workers of the Red Army and Navy! Guerrillas, men and women! Greetings and congratulations to you on May Day! I order:

(1) The rank and file must learn to use the rifle perfectly, become masters of their arms, hit the enemy without fail, as is done by

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our glorious snipers, exterminators of the German occupants.

(2) Machine gunners, artillerymen, trench mortar crews, tankists and fliers are to learn to use their arms to perfection, to become experts in their specialties, to smite the German fascist invaders point blank until they are finally exterminated.

(3) Commanders of army units are to learn to perfection the coordination of arms, to become experts in the art of directing troops, to show the whole world that the Red Army is capable of fulfilling its great mission of liberation.

(4) The entire Red Army is to see to it that the year 1942 shall become the year of the final defeat of the German fascist troops and the liberation of Soviet soil from the Hitlerite scoundrels.

(5) Men and women guerrillas are to intensify guerrilla warfare in the rear of the German invaders, to destroy enemy means of communication and transport facilities, to destroy enemy headquarters and equipment, not to spare cartridges against the oppressors of our motherland.

Under the invincible banner of the great Lenin, forward to victory!

Signed: STALIN
People's Commissar of Defense

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ONE YEAR SINCE JUNE 22

BY V. J. JEROME

WITH the approach of the second year of the Soviet Union's magnificent fight to drive out the fascist invader, the moment of great decision presses upon the government and the people of the United States: the immediate establishment, in conjunction with Great Britain, of a fighting front in the West of Europe to form with the Red Army's offensive from the East a giant pincer move for crushing Hitler's military might before the current year ends. In the United States and in Britain the realization of the urgency of the Second Front is reflected in the powerful and growing sentiment of the people, and in the increasingly favorable indications in certain Administration quarters with regard to the early opening of an offensive.

The possibility for realizing the Second Front has itself been created by the crucial twelvemonth of Soviet warfare—from the initial stage of heroic resistance to the assumption of the great offensive which the Red Army is continuing to wage; it has been created, too, by the enhanced military strength of the United States and Great Britain, by the coalition of the United Nations which is constantly being strengthened, and by the visible weakening of Nazi Germany.

In holding single-handed almost the entire Nazi army in desperate struggle on the Eastern Front, the Soviet armed forces are providing their British and American allies with the precious opportunity to deliver decisive blows at the heart of the Axis—Nazi Germany. In striking mightily at the Axis mainstay in Europe and in holding immobilized a vast Japanese army as well as an important part of Japan's fleet, the Soviet Union contributes materially to the effective strength of the United Nations in the Pacific. American strategy in relation to the Pacific and the European battle-fronts hinges on the fact that in this indivisible global war the crucial and decisive front is the European front, held by the Soviet Union.

The Red Army's heroic fight on this vast and crucial front has diverted Hitler's manpower and equipment from every quarter of Europe. "From Norway to Bayonne," lately declared the Free-French African Commander, General Eugene-Marie Sice,* "the Germans have only 35 divisions—and

* In an interview with the *Daily Worker*, May 8, 1942.

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they can spare no one from the Eastern Front. With the Russians on the one front and the British and Americans on the other, we could destroy the enemy in record time."

Nazi economic and human resources have been enormously depleted by the crushing counter-offensive of the Red Army. This condition was realistically pointed out by Stalin in his Order of the Day to the Soviet people on May Day:

". . . during this period [of war with the Soviet Union], fascist Germany and her army undoubtedly became weaker than they were ten months ago. War has brought the German people great disillusionment, the loss of millions of human lives, hunger and poverty. The end of the war is not in sight, but Germany's manpower reserves are running low, oil and raw material stocks are also running low. The realization of Germany's inevitable defeat is ever more growing among the German people."

The heroic Soviet stand, the fighting mettle of the Red Army and the instantaneous response of the whole Soviet people to Stalin's call, eleven days after the invasion, for guerrilla fighting and scorched earth warfare wherever the invader should succeed in setting foot, immensely strengthened the will of the enslaved peoples everywhere to revolt. Today, fighting is reported to be raging in Bosnia, Serbia and Montenegro, where General Mikhailovitch's guerrilla warriors are fiercely resisting the Axis occupation forces. In Norway, Czechoslovakia, Poland, France, Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, Hungary and other subjugated and "allied" lands, patriot forces are resorting to sabotage in war industry, to derailings of troop trains, to explosions of munitions works and military supply depots, and to assassinations of fascist officers and soldiers. Desperate reprisal shootings of "Communists and Jews" by the hundreds, long prison sentences, and mass deportations to labor camps have become the daily schedule of the desperate Nazis. "In all occupied countries," President Roosevelt stated in his address to the people on April 28, "there are men, women and even little children who have never stopped fighting, never stopped resisting, never stopped proving to the Nazis that their so-called 'new order' can never be enforced upon free peoples."

In such a situation the opening of a Western front would result in instant risings by the peoples, who are waiting for the landing of a liberating army on the European continent. The Nazi occupation forces would find themselves compelled to wage "an offensive behind their own lines," as a Berlin report of May 6* admits they are compelled to wage against the Soviet partisans, the "people's avengers."

The dynamic resolve, heroism and accomplishments of the Red Army and the Soviet people, in stopping and rolling back the colossal Hitler war machine, have imbued the peoples of the world with

* Stockholm report by telephone to the *New York Times*, May 6, 1942.

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resolute courage to fight to the death the Axis monster, and have given them confidence of victory. Coming after a long record of previous defeats, the destruction by Soviet arms of the much-trumpeted Nazi "invincibility" has opened to the United Nations for the first time the path to decisive victory over the Nazi Axis and created a new prospect of national liberation and democratic advance for the peoples of the earth. In the fight of the socialist state's Red Army mankind has beheld the most effective, powerful and consistent struggle for the world-political issues of national independence and democratic liberties for which the just war of the United Nations is being waged.

Never before have events made it so clear that the security of the Soviet Union and the security of the American nation are inseparably interlocked. What has been defended during the earth-shaking months in the Battles of Moscow, Leningrad and Sevastopol, is not only Soviet soil, but our soil and British soil and Chinese soil—the soil of all peoples engaged in this war for their fatherlands. The Battle of the Ukraine, the Battle of the Crimea, blocking the Nazi access to the Caucasus, guard the approaches to the Middle East and to India, and thwart the attainment by the Axis of a major strategic objective, namely, the junction of the Japanese and Nazi war machines, the effecting of which would have the most serious consequences and prolong the war for all the United Nations.

From the very outset of the Nazi invasion of the U.S.S.R. and the involvement of that great State in the war, it became increasingly clear to the peoples and governments of the countries at war with the Axis, as well as to the countries threatened by it, that their struggle was one—a war indivisible; that the sea-divided and land-divided areas of combat, actual or imminent, made up an iron chain of battle-fronts of one war.

Inspired by the Soviet Union's fight, the forces of the world anti-Hitler front have grown in friendship and solidarity, which demand now their consummation in full military cooperation in the decisive theater of the war.

With that sweep of enlightenment which living history alone can bring upon the human horizon, the embattled Soviet land, fighting in the forefront of the forces of freedom, greatly dispelled the falsehoods and vilifications with which reaction had for twenty-four years sought to alienate the friendship of the world masses for the socialist state. Now, for all but the friends of fascism, the Soviet Union increasingly became revealed as the warrior holding the pass for humanity, and increasingly became cherished as the mighty historic ally of America and all the democratic nations.

The issues that fascist, Trotskyite, and other reactionary demagogues, with their dupes among "liberals," had long ridden in their anti-Soviet drives now turned out to be so many witches' brooms.

The much-maligned "Moscow trials" now showed themselves clearly to all who had not seen before as the necessary and effective

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defense of the Soviet Union and of world freedom against the Fifth Column. The Trotskyite-Bukharinite cabal of criminals, the Zinovievs and Pyatakovs, the Tukhachevskys and Yakirs—the Soviet counterpart of the Quislings and the Men of Vichy—were not spared to carry out their dastardly plan of opening the gates to the fascist enemy. Millions now recognized the truth expressed by Ex-Ambassador Joseph E. Davies:

"There were no Fifth Columnists in Russia in 1941—they had shot them. The purge had cleansed the country and rid it of treason."*

The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, whose true meaning had been systematically distorted as no event before it in history, now showed itself to increasing numbers as a master-stroke of statesmanship. Its beneficial outcome for the entire democratic world in deferring the spread of the war, in frustrating the plans of the Munichmen, and in conducing to the enhancement of the Soviet armed might, now proved itself to the United Nations in the war against the Axis. In declaring, with regard to Soviet prewar policy, "Russia needs no apology for her course,"** United States Senator Claude Pepper reflected the growing clarity of the American people on the consistently antifascist record of the Soviet Union.

Stalin, against whom world reaction's concentrated hatred sizzled from the tongue of every political mountebank and dripped from the pen of every corrupt scribe—Stalin, against whom an artificial blaze of hatred had been built up, greater even than the hatred fostered by the obscurantists of their day against Robespierre, Lincoln and Marx—Stalin was now revealed to increasing millions as the friend and champion of democratic humanity. And when Lord Beaverbrook declared, "Stalin must be sustained," he spoke the feeling of a world.

The Red Army, finally, maligned and belittled by the "experts," who gave it a month, at most six weeks, to stand up against the Reichswehr; declared impotent as an air power by the Lindberghs; termed "mushy" by the General Hugh Johnsons; laughed out of court by the Hanson W. Baldwins: ". . . in staff work and leadership, in training and equipment they are no match for the Germans: Timoshenko and Budyenny and Stern are not the same caliber as Keitel and Brauchitsch";* doomed (oh how wishfully!) to speedy perdition by the Fletcher Pratts: "It will take a miracle bigger than any seen since the Bible was written to save the Reds from utter defeat in a very short time"** —that Red Army, valiantly meeting the full shock of the Nazi attack, wresting the initiative from the invader, and hurling back his armies with great losses, was soon acclaimed by the world as the army of honor among the hosts of the United Nations. It was in the name of all liberty-loving Americans that our valiant General MacArthur

Mission to Moscow, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1942, p. 280.
** *New York Times*, February 14, 1942.

* *New York Times*, June 29, 1941.
** *New York Times*, June 27, 1941.

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greeted the Red Army on the occasion of its twenty-fourth anniversary. Paying tribute to the "scale and grandeur" of its campaign, unprecedented in resistance and counter-offensive, he named it as "the greatest military achievement in all history," and declared that "the hopes of civilization rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian army."

Indicative of the growing sentiment in the United States for friendship toward the Soviet Union is the survey on U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations made by *Fortune* in February of this year, the second such survey by that magazine since October. The poll showed that opinion favoring aid to the Soviet Union had grown in the four months from 73.3 per cent to 84.3 per cent of the population. In the period since February this trend has visibly increased.

And American organized labor, kept in the past by policies traditionally dominant from connection with the Soviet trade unions, has increasingly come to see the vital need for breaking that isolationism; a number of state affiliates of both the C.I.O. and A.F. of L., as most recently the Pennsylvania State conventions of these two organizations and the Illinois C.I.O. Statewide Production Conference, have urged cooperation of American-Anglo-Soviet trade unions. A signal expression of developing solidarity of American labor with the Soviet people has been the acceptance by William Green of the A.F. of L., Philip Murray of the C.I.O. and A. F. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, of positions on the Board of Directors of Russian War Relief.

* * *

In the light of these very positive developments, all the graver is the fact that the United States has not yet succeeded in bringing about the one measure that is most vitally urgent for our national safety and for the cause of common victory in 1942—the launching, with Britain, of a land attack upon Hitler on the European continent. As William Z. Foster has stated recently:

"The policy of the American and British Governments is not yet clear regarding whether or not they will set up a Western Front, or follow a policy simply of arms aid to the U.S.S.R. and intensified air raids and Commando incursions in Western Europe. The strong voice of labor, countering the propaganda of the defeatists, can aid mightily in helping our Government arrive at the vital decision for a Western Front."*

In order that our Government, in conjunction with that of Britain, shall take the decisive step which the situation demands, the energetic initiative and active support of the people, in particular the working class, are indispensable.

True, there are those to whom popular initiative and action are highly distasteful: such elements seek by all possible means to lull the people into helpless passivity. They are the national splitters, the defeatists, Hitler's outpost on our soil; the Reynolds-Dies-Byrd

* *Daily Worker*, May 9, 1942.

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bloc of reaction in Congress, the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson press, the half-hearted "supporters" and whole-hearted "frustraitors" (to borrow an apt term from H. G. Wells) of the war's victorious prosecution. All seek, by one tactic or another (whether "politics-as-usual" or anti-labor drives, or Red-baiting, or hate-incitements against our allies), to divide, weaken, and discourage the masses of the people; to distract them from playing an effective part in this people's war; to set them in opposition to our government; and to disrupt their unity with the rest of the United Nations.

Even certain outspoken supporters of the war play into the hands of those who hold back victory, as when Henry R. Luce—publisher of *Life*, *Time* and *Fortune*—states:

"The public cannot do much about the strategy of winning the war. But it can begin thinking about the peace."*

The strategy of winning the people's war is the people's main business. For, unless fighting the war to bring victory becomes with us the key issue determining our attitude to all other issues, unless the all-pervading consciousness of the compelling necessity for achieving victory in 1942 takes precedence over all blueprints for the post-war world, it will not be we—but fascism that will determine that world. "Thinking about the peace" as an *alternative* to influencing war policy is a distraction which can only play into the hands of the defeatists. The "public" will certainly have something to say with regard to shaping the peace; but the opportunity and ability to do so will depend directly on the degree to which it will have learned to crush the engineers of defeat and to help shape the policies that lead to victory.

"Strategy" is not so divorced from the politics and the everyday life of the people as Mr. Luce appears to believe. The example of France speaks volumes. The Popular Front fought for the strategy of collective security, which, if adopted, would have resulted in the defeat of Nazi-ism. Fear that the French people would be victorious over the Hitlerites impelled the pro-Hitler circles of high finance to launch their own strategy on the home front in order to prepare the strategy for the defeat of France on the battlefield. It was precisely because the French "public" was prevented from "doing much about strategy" that a fallen France has now a Vichy as its depraved capital.

Essentially, Mr. Luce's statement coincides with the retort of the reactionary West Coast ship-owner to Harry Bridges, who presented his plan for improving war-time ship-loading efficiency: "You use your muscles, let us use our brains."*

At bottom, these two statements are peas from one pod. Both would deny to the people their dynamic function in the war, which is a people's war. Fortunately, the people reject such pernicious ideas, which, if followed, would result in

* *The United States in a New World*, report from *Fortune*, May, 1942 (Preface).

* *In Fact*, May 11, 1942.

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disunity and passivity, leaving a clear field for the friends of the enemy.

But this rejection by the masses must now become more determined. It has to be recognized that, despite the great awakening that is under way, there is still needed a fuller understanding of the basic political meaning and life-and-death implications of the tremendous liberation war in which we are engaged. Still needed is a more vivid awareness of the immediate necessity and possibility of offensive action in the decisive place — Hitler-dominated Europe.

The effective conduct of the war on a fully offensive basis requires the utmost clarity on the part of the government and the people in regard to the character of the war and the political objectives for which it is being fought. America's national life is threatened with extinction. The entire heritage of economic advance and democratic attainments for which our people fought and toiled over an expanse of centuries faces the fate of the once-free civilization of France.

Americans to a man—fighting forces and civilians—must be imbued with the deepest consciousness that the war we are waging is a war for our national preservation, a just war, a people's war, whose political objective is and can only be the military destruction of the would-be destroyer of all free nationhood—Hitler and the Nazi-fascist Axis. Therefore, this is a war of the entire American nation, for whom victory depends on the welding of an anti-fascist national unity, in which the working class, in the words of General MacArthur, "the indestructible backbone," is called upon to play a more active and leading role; and on the realization that our country's national safety can be secured only through the staunchest comradeship-in-arms and fighting unity with all our allies of the United Nations.

To wage this war to a victorious conclusion, we must learn the lesson which the Soviet example provides, of the mastery on the part of government, army and people of the great political issues at stake in the world-shaking conflict. The heroic struggle of the Soviet people would be an impossibility, but for the deep consciousness of the political essence of this just war of national liberation, which permeates the entire Soviet war effort. That consciousness is classically expressed in Stalin's May 1 Order of the Day:

". . . We are waging a patriotic war of liberation, a just war. We do not set ourselves the aim of seizing foreign countries, of conquering foreign peoples. Our aim is clear and noble. We want to liberate our Soviet land from the German fascist scoundrels. We want to liberate our brothers, the Ukrainians, Moldavians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians and Karelians, from the disgrace and humiliation to which they are subjected by the German fascist scoundrels.

"To achieve this aim we must defeat the German fascist army and exterminate the German occupants to the last man, as long as they will not surrender. There is no other way. We can do this and we must do this at any cost."

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In this statement of the great leader of the Soviet Union, the American people recognize the high principle which animates their own participation in this titanic conflict for national survival. We, like the Soviet people, are fighting, as part of the United Nations, for our country's independence. For us, as for the Soviet people, the guarantee of our national integrity lies in the smashing of Hitlerism. For us, as for them, this is a war, not of annexation and enslavement, but of defense of national freedom. For us, as for them, every possibility of future progress hinges on the victorious outcome of this war of survival.

Consciousness of the anti-fascist, national-liberation character of the struggle must permeate the national mind and will. There must be full clarity as to the nature of Hitlerism—the camp of "the most rapacious and plunderous imperialists" —and why its continued existence places in perpetual peril all free nationhood. There will be no victory, and the threat to our national existence will continue a threat, unless every ounce of our strength is thrown into the battle and the Nazi monster destroyed beyond all possibility of resurrection.

Too frequently does our official war propaganda, among the civilians as among the armed forces, while actively rallying our fighting resources in general, remain inexplicit as regards the specific, the distinctive political issue at the core of this war: the political fact that we are waging a war for decisive victory, not over a group of countries that happen to have made war upon us, but over an infernal league of powers that are aggressors because they are fascist; over an Axis whose central power is Hitlerism, which must be broken for the Axis to be broken.

A tremendous step forward in the recognition of the need for clear, emphatic statement of the issues of the people's war was the stirring speech of Vice-President Wallace, on May 8:

"This is a fight between a slave world and a free world. Just as the United States in 1862 could not remain half slave and half free, so in 1942 the world must make its decision for a complete victory one way or the other. . . .

"The people are on the march toward even fuller freedom than the most fortunate peoples of the world have hitherto enjoyed. No Nazi counter-revolutionist will stop it. The common man will smoke the Hitler stooges out into the open in the United States, in Latin America, and in India. He will destroy their influence. No Lavals, no Mussolinis will be tolerated in a free world."*

* * *

If clarity regarding the nature and aims of the war is one precondition of victory in which the Soviet example holds significant values for us in our struggle, anti-fascist unity of the nation is another, equally vital. Never must it be forgotten that it was the unbreakable unity organic to the growing power and socialist democracy of the Soviet Union that provided the strength

* *PM*, May 10, 1942.

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which shattered Hitler's Blitzkrieg. The hope of dividing people and government, army and people, nation and nation within the Union, broke on the solid rock of Soviet national unity.

The well-springs of the matchless prowess and magnificent morale of the Soviet fighting forces are the moral and political unity of the citizens of the socialist system, who know they are fighting a patriotic war for the freedom of the workers' state; the steeled alliance of the working class and the collective farm peasantry, who rule the country; the equality and brotherhood of the nations of the united Socialist Republics; and the country's indissoluble unity with the government under Stalin's leadership, around which it rallies with superb confidence and devotion. Herein is the source of that phenomenal integration of the Red Army and its commanders with the entire Soviet people which strengthens the fighting forces with an invincible rear. Herein is the inexhaustible source of the Red Army's combat-power, its offensive spirit, its heroism. Herein, too, is the source of the superhuman war effort of the people—in the Soviet Union there are no noncombatants!—the brave partisan detachments behind the invader's lines; the men and women working heroically on the production front and on the collective farms; the young and the old who give all of themselves, who suffer privations in patriotic self-sacrifice, so that the slogan may be realized: Everything for the front, everything for victory!

It was to this unity and its galvanization in the Soviet fighting strength that Lord Beaverbrook paid tribute in his address of April 23, in the memorable words:

"Communism under Stalin has produced the most valiant fighting army in Europe. Communism under Stalin has provided us with examples of patriotism equal to the finest annals of history. Communism under Stalin has won the applause and admiration of all the Western nations. Communism under Stalin has produced the best generals in this war." *

The greatness of our country, in its rich democratic heritage and its industrial might, resides in the fact that it has drawn on the past achievements of all mankind. The Soviet Union is proud to acknowledge its debt to America in the sphere of technique and productivity, and its appreciation of our democratic attainments and cultural advance. It has always recognized that its style of work is a combination of American efficiency and Russian revolutionary zeal. Gratitude to all who are able to teach—such is a characteristic of Soviet life. Mankind's achievements are the heritage of all nations. It must therefore be our task to ask: What can America, a state based on capitalist foundations, learn, in this critical period of our history—from our Soviet ally, which has demonstrated to all the world how the Hitlerites can be irrevocably smashed?

For our country to achieve the

* *The New York Times*, April 24, 1942.

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maximum of national unity, the people's support for carrying out the government's war program must be consolidated to the full.

This means, on the part of the people, and first and foremost of the working class, the development of the greatest degree of initiative and devoted struggle to win victory. It means labor's united advance, so signally developing, for rallying all the common people to beat back the insidious campaigns of the defeatists; to overcome the irresoluteness of certain governmental circles; and, by rendering the most active support to those government leaders favoring the assumption of the offensive, to strengthen the government's orientation toward the speedy launching of the second front in Europe.

It means, on the part of the government, continuing to pursue with even greater boldness and resoluteness its anti-Hitler policy, its prosecution of the anti-Hitler war, ending certain hesitations in regard to matters demanding decisive action, and welding itself still more firmly with the people. Heartening to all who truly strive to forge the anti-fascist solidity of the nation is the commutation of Earl Browder's sentence, accompanied by the President's forthright declaration that the action was taken in the interests of national unity. That action is welcomed by the millions of Americans, and especially the working class, who rejoice that the great anti-fascist leader, Earl Browder, is at last free to take his rightful place in our nation's war effort.

It means learning the great Soviet lesson of defeating the defeatists, of acting vigorously and decisively to suppress the saboteurs and traitors, the Coughlins, Dieses, Nyes, Lindberghs, Norman Thomases, and the "sixth column" purveyors of their anti-American poison. It means the immediate removal of such notorious Hitler-heilers as Senator Reynolds and appeasers as Senator Walsh from key posts of military and political responsibility. It means putting an end to the state of affairs in which a fiendish labor-hater and Copperhead columnist like Westbrook Pegler can be put on the staff of an official army paper.

It means clearing our State Department of certain elements who are attempting to deflect our country's course from an all-out military offensive for destroying Hitlerism to a "propaganda offensive" against the Nazis, timed with the insidious "peace offensive" now emanating from Berlin. These elements are at this moment surreptitiously circulating memoranda designed to subvert the all-important military objectives of the war. They even presume to invoke, by flagrant distortion, Stalin's disavowal of racial hatred for the German people, in support of this "propaganda offensive," omitting to mention that the U.S.S.R. is committed, by declaration and deeds, "to annihilate the enslaver." They paint Hitler as hopelessly weakened, and conjure up the bogey of Germany's economic collapse followed by the insinuated horror of the "Red Menace," if we prosecute the war to its

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proper *military* conclusion. Hence, let our offensive not go beyond propaganda! Thus whisper these counselors of "negotiation."

Further, in the light of the example of the united Soviet people, it means ending the disgraceful practices of discrimination against Negroes in industry, in the armed forces, and in civil life—practices of the very tissue of the fascism we are fighting to destroy; practices that divide us, when the imperative need is integration of all Americans into the national unity; practices that retard the production vital to victory by obstructing full utilization of the manpower of the Negro people, and that bring many Negroes to doubt whether this is their war —they who gave to the nation their Negro brother, the heroic Dorie Miller, at Pearl Harbor!

In every one of these phases of our struggle for victory, organized labor, in its own interests and the nation's, bears a paramount responsibility. The American working class, the historically proven stalwart in the nation's battles for independence and progress, needs now to expand the vital contributions it has already made. By its resoluteness and self-sacrificing devotion, American labor, drawing inspiration from the epic war effort of the Soviet working people, as from the brave fighting of our British, Chinese, and other allies, can help dispel all moods of apathy and passivity in the nation's victory drive. By further extending its efforts to achieve and work through united trade union and political action, labor can fully solidify its own ranks and spur all sections of the people to successful action for a Western Front and victory.

The achieving of these objectives by the workers requires the fullest unity: unity that will break utterly the pro-Axis machinations of the defeatists in the house of labor—the Lewises, Hutchesons and Thomas Socialists; unity in which all remnants of discriminatory and segregationist practices against Negro workers and fellow trade unionists will be eliminated; in which Red-baiting, now overwhelmingly recognized by organized labor as self-injurious, will have no place.

Labor's advance toward the fulfillment of its full political role in the war effort is resulting in the overcoming of the old-line policy of "pure-and-simple trade-unionism." Labor's role in the war involves the greatest political and organizing initiative and the widespread extension of the Labor Victory Committees and Win-the-War Committees in the unions, and of the labor-management production committees throughout industry. It calls for united political action on the part of labor, in order to enable it to devote the utmost of its abilities and strength to the cause of victory.

To this end, the labor movement needs the Communist Party, not only for what this means to working-class unity, but for what the party, as the most advanced and politically conscious section of the working class, can contribute in clarity and resoluteness in struggle. The Communist Party's role in the struggle for victory is ex-

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pressed in its determined carrying out of its pledge of "everything to win the war." The increasing recognition of this role is manifested in the marked contribution made by millions of trade unionists throughout the land toward the release of Earl Browder.

* * *

America fights the fight of national survival, not alone, but in the constantly strengthening alliance of freedom-loving peoples and their governments ranged against Hitlerism. In this solidarity of the United Nations lies the source of power for victory. Only a patriotism that is broad—based on such international democratic friendship, on the common action of the allied fighting forces and workers manning production fronts—can be true to our lofty traditions of 1776 and 1861, and to the goal of freedom for which we fight today.

Anything that undermines this fighting unity, that sows hatred or distrust of our allies, weakens our country and aids the enemy. Whatever strengthens the United Nations' unity, strengthens our country and brings victory nearer.

The Soviet Union has worked unceasingly to weld the unity and friendship of the democratic peoples. Of the growing bonds of sympathy which brings into ever closer cooperative action the foremost states in the United Nations, Stalin said on May 1 in his Order of the Day:

"All freedom-loving peoples have joined forces against German imperialism. Their eyes are turned to the Soviet Union. The heroic struggle which the peoples of our country are waging for their freedom, honor and independence calls forth the admiration of all progressive humanity. The peoples of all freedom-loving countries regard the Soviet Union as a force capable of saving the world from the Hitler plague. First place among these freedom-loving countries is held by Great Britain and the United States of America, to which we are bound by ties of friendship and alliance and which are rendering our country constantly increasing military assistance against the German fascist invaders."

This bond of internationalism of all the democratic peoples is a cardinal principle permeating the Red Army, which, in the words of Stalin, "has been brought up in the spirit of equality of all races and peoples, in the spirit of respect for the rights of other peoples." This principle is of the fibre of Americanism in its noblest tradition, as we have it set forth in the immortal words of Lincoln:

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds."

To the extent that our solidarity with the United Nations grows in strength and enhances the fighting action of the world anti-Hitler front, the preservation of American freedom will be a triumphant reality. To the extent that we intensify the struggle against chauvinism, Jim-Crowism, anti-

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Semitism, labor-baiting, Red-baiting, and the whole gangrenous work of divisive hatred, will our unity within and with our Allies become the force of steel that will deal death to Hitlerism.

The further development of solidarity and alliance in action among the nations of the anti-Hitler front is particularly a responsibility of the working class. The international ties of organized labor within the United Nations are a most important factor in the unity of the peoples against fascism. The strength of the British-Soviet alliance rests in considerable measure on the warm, staunch friendship of the British and Soviet workers, a friendship eloquently manifested in the enthusiastic welcome extended to the Soviet Trade Union delegation to Britain, headed by N. Shvernik, in the formation of the joint British-Soviet Trade Union Committee, and in the great stimulus to war production which this solidarity has engendered.

The strengthening of Soviet-American friendship, the establishment of a full military alliance between the two countries, would be greatly aided, to the mutual benefit of both peoples, by the adherence of American organized labor, A. F. of L., C.I.O., and Railroad Brotherhoods, to the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee, in response to the appeal for international labor unity brought to this country by Sir Walter Citrine in behalf of the British Trade Union Congress. The coming together of the trade unions of the foremost countries of the anti-Hitler alliance would mean heightening the effectiveness of the production of the tools of war; it would mean enhancing labor's role in the national unity, its independent activities and contributions in all fields to the winning of victory.

The international anti-fascist unity of labor is the assurance of the strength and permanence of the world front of democratic peoples, who will launch the victorious offensive against Hitlerism in 1942.

* * *

It is axiomatic with military science that victory in war can be obtained only by offensive action, through concentration of striking power at the decisive place with the subordination of all other operations to the main aim.

The Red Army has provided the world with the superb example of the application of this principle. From the outset of the conflict, whether in the zones of major military operations or in the occupied regions, the Soviet fighting people—the Army and the general population—were imbued through the inspiring summons of their great Commander-in-Chief, Stalin, to wage the war, whether in retreat or in advance, with the spirit of unrelenting attack. The unremitting counter-attacks on a tactical scale (which were consistently combined with the army's strategic retreats), the carrying through of the guerrilla warfare, the Herculean campaign for production, the gathering in of crops, the patriotic laying waste of fields and habitable places, the razing of Dnieprostroy, the

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harassing of the invader behind the lines—were all permeated with the indestructible will of a united people, army and government to diminish the military strength of the invader, to wrest from him the initiative, and to spring over to the offensive. The Red Army thus inflicted on Hitler that "loss in the advance" spoken of by the great military authority Clausewitz over a century ago, which "is increased if the enemy has not been beaten, but withdraws of his own accord with his forces intact, and offering a steady continuous resistance, sells every step of ground at a bloody price, so that the advance is a continuous combat for ground and not a mere pursuit." *

Through the conduct of the entire first phase of the war, as can now be seen, the Soviet Union exerted the full weight of its national power with a view to the assumption of the counter-offensive at the earliest possible moment. No sooner had the Hitlerite invaders begun to falter under the blows of the unyielding defenders of Moscow, than Stalin boldly seized the opportunity to throw into action carefully prepared reserves of the Red Army. It was the constant orientation by the principle of the offensive which made possible that epic transition, at Rostov in the south and at Tikhvin in the north, to the greatest counter-offensive known to history, filling the world with admiration.

Thus, the Soviet Union has set forth in imperishable deeds, for all the armies and peoples ranged against the Axis, the foremost military lesson for 1942: the lesson that victory requires bold, determined, single-minded seizure of the offensive, and the concentration of all available human and material resources for its victorious realization.

* Karl von Clausewitz. *On War*, tr. Graham, London, 1918, Bk. VI, Chap. XXV.

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INDIA AND THE WAR

BY JAMES S. ALLEN

TOTAL mobilization of India for its own defense against the Axis aggressors is daily becoming more imperative in the interests both of Indian independence and of the successful waging of the war against Hitler and his allies. The "non - violent, non - cooperation" stand taken by the Working Committee of the All-India Congress at the recent meeting in Allahabad shows that India still has to be transformed from a largely passive barrier to Axis expansion into a dynamic, fighting ally in the camp of the United Nations.

It is a heavy blow for the United Nations that at this late stage in the war against fascist tyranny the leadership of the dominant party of India should have made what can prove to be a suicidal compromise with Gandhi and Gandhiism, whose doctrines of "non-violent" resistance can provide only comfort and aid to a Japanese army of invasion. If this decision is permitted to stand by the mass independence movement which the Congress heads, the defense of India will be seriously impaired and all important fronts of the global war will be affected.

The necessity of mobilizing India is linked in with the crucial question of the war, the launching of the main offensive in Europe now against Hitler, as well as with stopping Japan in the Far East. If Japan is able to establish additional bases in India, she will be in a position to interfere seriously with the whole system of supply lines flowing from around the Cape of Good Hope to the Soviet Union and the Middle East, as well as to China and India. And if England and the United States are to concentrate their forces mainly in Europe for a decisive blow at Hitler, it would be of great assistance to count on the strength and the resources which can be made available in India, through the full alliance of an aroused Indian people, fighting together with China and her allies in the Pacific to stop Japan.

India, therefore, has a key importance for the war as a whole. What is done in India will not only decide its own immediate fate, but will affect the whole Pacific, particularly China, will have direct bearing upon the relations of forces in the Middle East, will influence the attitude of the whole colonial world toward the United Nations, and will have repercussions on the decisive European fronts.

There is no question but that the

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main, although not the sole, responsibility for the present situation has to be borne by Great Britain, not only because of its historical record but chiefly because of the glaring inadequacy of the War Cabinet proposals recently presented to the Indian leaders by Cripps. Unfortunately, the great lessons of the Pacific phase of the war have not yet produced a decisive reorientation of British policy. The reverses of Britain and her allies in the Far Pacific since December 7 have aroused the English people to the necessity of a new and progressive approach to the colonial peoples—an approach which would lead to the full participation of the native populations in the war—as a matter vitally affecting the survival of England itself. It was for this reason, as well as the great popular appreciation of the role of the Soviet Union and of the need to cooperate more fully with that country through the opening of a Western Front, that Cripps was invited to join the War Cabinet and subsequently sent to reach an agreement with the Indian people.

The British Proposals

However, the War Cabinet proposals fell far short of what was demanded by the situation. Aside from the content of the plan, the take-it-or-leave-it admonition of the Cabinet and its messenger gave the proposals the flavor of an ultimatum and did not contribute to bettering relations. But this might easily have been forgiven if the proposals had turned out to be more acceptable to the Indian people, and had not been aimed instead at convincing the world at large of the "sincerity" of the British intentions. As it was, the scheme which, in the terms of the document, was to assure "the *earliest possible* realization of self-government in India" proved entirely inadequate with regard to *immediate* measures for the mobilization of the Indian people—the crux of the whole problem—and instead centered attention upon a *future* status, to be achieved after the war.

It is true that in some respects the Cabinet plan did represent a further advance along the lines established by previous British-sponsored reforms. For the first time in any official document was Dominion status definitely promised, and also for the first time was a more or less definite date set for the realization of self-government, that is, "immediately upon cessation of hostilities." The long standing demand of the Congress for a Constituent Assembly was indirectly recognized in the proposal that as soon as the war was over a semi-elected body be set up with the task of framing a constitution. The Congress took note of these concessions when it recognized "that self-determination for the people of India is accepted in principle in that uncertain future," but pointed out that "this is fettered and circumscribed and that certain provisions have been introduced which gravely imperil the development of a free and united national government and establishment of a democratic state."

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In fact, the provisions introduced into the scheme for Dominion status showed that while the British Cabinet was ready to promise further constitutional reforms it was not yet ready to commit itself to an important departure from past policy. These provisions, which were the main cause for the Congress rejection of the Dominion plan, concerned the two major domestic problems of national unity in India: the question of the Indian States and the communal problem. The first of these problems was introduced in connection with the constitutional body, which according to the Cripps plan was to be formed by delegates elected from the lower houses of the provincial legislatures of British India together with representatives appointed by the Princes of the Indian States on the same base of proportional representation as in British India, and with the same power as the elected delegates from the provinces. This would mean the introduction into the constitution-making body of a reactionary feudal bloc, able to obstruct the proposals of the democratically elected representatives.

The other sharp domestic issue unsatisfactorily handled by the British Cabinet is the communal question. The Cabinet plan commits Britain to accept and implement the Constitution framed by the proposed body, subject to the right of any province of British India which is not ready to accept the Constitution to refrain from joining the Union and have the right to agree with Britain upon a separate constitution for itself or together with other provinces remaining outside the Union.

This provision has the appearance of applying the principle of self-determination to the solution of the communal tension between Hindus and Moslems. In reality, as Congress pointed out in its reply, it constitutes "a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity and an apple of discord likely to generate growing trouble in the provinces." Congress made it clear that it did not favor compulsion of any section to join a United India, but that the Cabinet proposals do not help create conditions making it easier for the different provinces and sections to develop a common and cooperative life; rather do these proposals encourage separation and friction, favor the obscurantist and reactionary groups within the religious communities, and divert attention from the main issues facing the country.

The British demand that the right of non-accession for the "Moslem" provinces be recognized as a condition for the establishment of the Indian Union was clearly a concession to the Moslem League, which represents only a small section of the Moslem community, and can only have the result of encouraging the separatist program which it advocates. In 1940, that is, *after* the outbreak of the war in Europe, this organization officially adopted the demand for Pakistan, which means the state separation of the Moslems by establishing a confederation of Moslem States. Aside from the fact that such a demand is reactionary and retrogressive from the viewpoint of Indian

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unity, the encouragement of such tendencies under present circumstances especially cannot help but play into the hands of the Axis, which is energetically at work to encourage disunity. (For example: the arousing by the Japanese of the predominantly Buddhist population of Burma against the Hindus, and the fifth column work of the Nazis in the Middle East dedicated to arousing the Moslem Arabs against the Western powers.) It is no accident that the Moslem League's reply to Cripps, in which the British proposals are flatly rejected unless the principle of Pakistan is unequivocally accepted, contains not a single word on the war or on the defense of India, and is marked throughout by a spirit of intransigency.

Thus, the British Cabinet plan for India's future status marked no radical departure from the established policy, which had already been emphatically repudiated by the Indian people, when they unanimously rejected the Constitution of 1935 largely because of those features found most objectionable in the new plan. The conclusion is inescapable that if the British Cabinet as at present constituted could not permit itself to go further than it did in meeting the well-known and long established aspirations of the Indian people, it should not have attempted at this time to propose a plan for a future status. As it is, the plan has injected new elements of discord and sharpened old ones in a situation which is already complicated enough.

* * *

What the situation required was for the British Cabinet to propose immediate practical steps to mobilize the Indian people to participate in their own defense. It would seem to be axiomatic that no confidence in any British scheme for future self-government could be expected unless concrete steps in that direction were taken now in connection with the defense of India. On this point the British proposals offered some concessions but again fell far short of what was required. The British were to have the "responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defense of India as a part of the whole war effort," while inviting the people of India to cooperate with the government in "the task of organizing to the full the military, moral and material resources of India." The Cabinet was also ready to welcome the immediate participation of "leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations."

In its reply, the Congress recalled that since the beginning of the war in September, 1939, it had taken the position that the Indian people "would line themselves up with the progressive forces of the world" and "asked that the necessary conditions to enable them to do so be created." This condition, says the Congress, is the freedom of India, for "only the realization of present freedom could light the flame which would illuminate millions of hearts and move them to action." The proposals on present status are characterized as "vague and altogether in-

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complete" with no vital changes in the existing structure, in which India's responsibility is reduced to a "farce and a nullity." Defense can be assured only if the fullest trust is placed in the people:

"It is only thus that even in this grave eleventh hour it may be possible to galvanize the people of India to rise to the height of the occasion. . . . It is only the people of India through their popular representatives who may shoulder this burden worthily. But that can only be done by present freedom and full responsibility being cast upon them."

In his farewell broadcast to the Indian people Cripps revealed that the Congress had made two suggestions with a view to establishing an immediate working arrangement guaranteeing the fullest participation of the people in the war effort. The first of these was an immediate change in the existing Constitution to assure representative government now. This was rejected by Cripps with some justification as impracticable. The second suggestion was that a full national government with a cabinet of Indian leaders be established, free from control by the Viceroy or the British Government. Cripps explained that he rejected this proposal as well because it would mean a central government, nominated by political parties, but responsible to no legislature or electorate, and would thus constitute a "possible inimical majority rule." Strange indeed that Cripps should reject this proposal as undemocratic when the political parties are the most democratic phenomena in India and in the face of the Cabinet proposals which excluded any popular representative participation in the defense of India! It is not at all surprising that the Indian leaders should be a little piqued that Cripps, who was heralded as a warm friend of India, should hold forth the old Tory bogey of the "inimical" Hindu majority oppressing the Moslem minority as a reason for rejecting national government. Nor could it have been any more pleasant for the Indian people to hear Cripps explain in his broadcast that the British Cabinet is in the position of an "arbiter" attempting to arrange a fair compromise between conflicting viewpoints *among the Indian people.*

In any case, the Cripps farewell broadcast did reveal that the Nehru leadership of the Congress had been straining every effort to obtain the acceptance of national government now, as the best condition for mobilizing India for its own defense. In fact, before the British plan was made known, it had been generally expected by democratic and anti-fascist opinion everywhere that the minimum to which the British could agree was a provisional national government for India. This was known in advance to be the attitude of the Nehru leadership. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had expressed a similar opinion during his trip to India. Even *The Tribune* (London), which is said to reflect Sir Stafford Cripps' opinion, declared before the Cabinet proposals were published:

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"Nehru must be asked to become Prime Minister and Minister of Defense with full powers and with a provisional All-India Legislative Assembly to act as the representative organ of the State." (*New York Times,* March 6.)

Immediately after the Cabinet plan was made known the British Communist Party, which now speaks for a rapidly growing sector of British working class opinion, declared that the scheme was undemocratic and that it would favor "separation and tendencies to partition which would be as harmful for India as it has been for Ireland," and pointed out that the crucial weakness was the absence of concrete recommendations for a provisional national government now. (*New York Times,* April 1) In its May Day Manifesto the British Communist Party raises the slogan "Form a National Government in India!" alongside the demand for a second front in Europe and the strengthening of the Anglo-Soviet Alliance for victory over fascism in 1942.

"Not for one moment," declares the Manifesto, "can the people of Britain tolerate blind refusal to establish an Indian National Government. Malaya, Singapore and Java, now in the bloody grip of the fascists, are a sombre warning of the consequences that attend imperialist subjugation of colonial peoples, deprived of the right to organize their own defense."

The Cabinet's obstinate refusal even to consider the establishment of a provisional national government charged with the responsibility of mobilizing the people for defense was the crucial mistake, totally inexcusable in view of the very recent experiences in Malaya, the Dutch East Indies and Burma.

* * *

While the Indian leaders must share in varying degrees the responsibility for the present uncertain state of India's defense, the main burden of responsibility for the situation and therefore of taking the initiative to overcome the present impasse still rests with the British Government. While it is correct, as Cripps said in his last broadcast to the Indian people, that "the essential need of India today is for all leaders of all main parties and communities to come together in a single national government," it is quite evident that this is precisely what the Congress leaders of the type of Nehru wish and that it is stubborn British Toryism which still remains the main obstacle to its accomplishment. To insist that the Indian leaders bear the main responsibility for the failure of the negotiations, as Cripps intimated in his statements in India, or to hold that the responsibility for overcoming the impasse now rests upon the shoulders of the Indians, as Cripps said upon his return to London, is to close the door to the development of united action and fighting collaboration between England and India, together with the other members of the United Nations. The main responsibility, despite the mistakes of the Nehru group and the service rendered Japan by Gandhiism, must necessarily rest with the

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British, upon whom two centuries of imperialist oppression inevitably places the weight of taking the initiative in reorientating its policy much more decisively and adequately in the direction of freedom for India.

To do this, British policy must unchain itself rapidly from the shackles of the past. To win the alliance and the confidence of the oppressed peoples the decisive thing is for the oppressing nation to take the initiative. It is nothing extraordinary or unexpected that the oppressed peoples should desire national independence and fight for those steps which now lead in that direction. They have been accustomed to do so for a long time. What is demanded and what is necessary is that the democratic powers now take the initiative in developing those practical measures which open up for the oppressed peoples the perspectives of national freedom.

If the recent British proposals to India are inadequate, it is because the old view still predominates and is only slowly, under the pressure of events, being forced to give way to a more progressive approach. The less influence the defeatist and old-line Tory forces have on the course of national policy, and the more influence exerted by the progressive forces within England, the more rapidly and effectively will the change take place. The close inter-relation of pressing events in the colony and the home country, a connection now under conditions of the anti-fascist war operating almost instantaneously, is demonstrated in the case of Britain and India. Thus, the sharp projection of the colonial question arising from the defeats suffered in the Far East contributed, together with the paramount question of opening the Western Front in Europe, to important shifts in the War Cabinet. And the failure of the first phase of Indian negotiations is likewise a powerful factor, together with the even more pressing need for the European front, making for further progressive changes in the British Cabinet and government. The British people have come to understand the close connection between winning the war through main concentration upon the defeat of Hitler and advancing Indian freedom, and they are not disposed to permit imperial practices and prejudices to stand in the way of saving England.

So decisive has the question become, from the viewpoint of the preservation of England itself, that if the government as at present constituted cannot come to terms with the Indian nationalist movement, which is closely connected with the launching of the offensive in Europe now, the question then again arises of reconstituting the government. Never before in the recent history of the British Empire has the existence of a home government been so closely linked with its policy to the colonies. Up to the very recent past, during the first two years of the present war, the usual course was followed by the government of suppressing the nationalist movement and imprisoning its leaders when their demands were found distasteful. Today this course cannot be so

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readily pursued because it is too dangerous for England herself as for all the United Nations. A new departure becomes necessary which must give freer play to the more advanced forces at home and to the nationalist movement within the colony, and which is in turn facilitated by the interplay of these forces. In this way, within the necessities created by the world struggle against Axis tyranny, there develops under new conditions and in a new form the alliance between the oppressed national and colonial peoples and the labor and progressive forces of the home country.

The Allahabad Decision and Gandhi's Role

The failure of the British Cabinet to recognize the necessity of national government in India and of taking steps to mobilize and arm the population against impending invasion contributed heavily to Gandhi's victory at the Allahabad meeting of the Congress. It must be noted that the official reply of the Congress to the Cabinet proposals contemplated resistance to Japanese invasion by every means and it was to facilitate such resistance that national freedom now was demanded. But as it became clear after Cripps' arrival in London that the British Government was not disposed to make any immediate change in policy, Gandhi was able to decisively influence the Congress, more out of the default of British policy and the lack of tactical flexibility on the part of the Nehru leadership than out of the intrinsic weight of his own position. It is again a case of permitting the enemy the opening for taking the initiative.

The Allahabad resolution, which is now official Congress policy, is clearly a compromise between Gandhi and Nehru, and therefore full of contradictions. Thus, while it calls upon the people to refuse to give up their homes and their fields even if they die in the effort to resist, it counsels the people to adopt "complete non-violent non-cooperation to the invading forces" and non-interference with the British forces engaged in defense. Although it should be noted that "non-violent non-cooperation" is not accepted in principle but only as an expedient in view of the British Government's refusal to organize national defense by the people, the decision in effect means non-cooperation with the British and the Japanese alike. It is equivalent to a policy of "neutrality," clothed in Gandhian terms, which has so often proved itself the most effective means of committing national suicide. Such a policy is merely an invitation for the Japanese to march into the country, provides direct aid to the Axis fifth column which is preparing this invasion, and amounts to a repudiation of national freedom for India.

Again has the "passive resistance" program of Gandhi, which in the past was so detrimental to the movement for Indian independence provided a serious obstruction to national freedom. A revelation of Gandhi's present role is provided in a *New York Times* dispatch from New Delhi (April 28) which quotes

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him as objecting to the arrival of U.S. troops and the expected coming of Chinese troops to participate in the defense of India. "Cannot a limitless number of soldiers be trained out of India's millions?" he asks. "Would they not make as good fighting material as any in the world? Then why foreigners? It amounts in the end to American influence, if not American rule, added to the British." And then, after thus demagogically playing upon the nationalist sentiments of the people to reject cooperation with the United Nations for the defense of India, he resumes his pose of "non-violence" to attack Nehru for encouraging Indians to resist attackers by force! In his own resolution presented to the Congress Working Committee on April 29 he coupled a proposal for ending further negotiations with Britain with the advocacy of non-violence against Japan.

The propaganda of "non-violence" gained vogue in India not because Gandhi's general philosophic views were shared by the people, but because non-violence proved to be expedient for a nationalist mass movement unprepared for civil war against much superior forces. In practice, Gandhi's advocacy of "non-violence" was used to hamper the growth of the mass independence movement and particularly of working class participation in it. During the first World War, which was a war for imperialist domination, Gandhi called for loyal support to the British Crown and recruited for the army. At one critical stage after another when the nationalist mass movement was reaching an apex he always managed to call it off or disorientate it when important victories were within grasp. Although he has also played a positive historical role during the early stages of the nationalist movement as a bridge between the past and the present of India, which accounts for his popularity among the masses, the emergence of the mass movement and particularly of its growing working class contingent has increasingly made his role more and more retrogressive. In the present situation his position is of direct advantage to Japanese military fascism.

However, there is good reason to believe that the Indian people, long schooled in their fight for independence, will yet be able to brush aside the paralyzing influence of a Gandhi and overcome other obstacles which stand in the way of national unity and successful defense of their country, using every means at their disposal. The increasing role of the working class over the past years in the independence movement is now standing India in good stead. The basis of a correct and constructive approach was provided on the eve of the important meeting of the Congress Working Committee at Allahabad on April 29 by Communist members of Congress, who offered the following resolution:

"1. Defense of the motherland against fascist aggressors by every available means is the paramount sacred duty of every Congress member.

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"2. Our struggle for the defense and freedom of our country is not a lone struggle; it is part and parcel of the struggle of the United Nations.

"3. No effective resistance by our people to the invader is possible unless we of the Congress take a determined initiative to establish unity, especially Hindu-Moslem unity." *(New York Times,* April 30.)

Further evidence that the Allahabad decision does not represent the views of an important sector of the leadership is demonstrated by the position of Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari, former president of the Congress and recently premier of Madras, which is among those points most directly threatened by invasion. Resigning from the Congress Working Committee, he condemned as futile the position adopted at Allahabad and called for a new national front, a new national policy and a national army to combat Japanese aggression. He urged the nation to "get together to face current difficulties which the official policy of the Congress does not meet," particularly stressing the need for Moslem-Hindu unity and for the formation of home guards to get ready for the use of weapons. (Associated Press, May 4.)

Despite the sharp differences with Britain, a large section of the non-Gandhi sector of the Congress leadership, as well as of the membership, undoubtedly agree on the crucial point, which was summarized by Cripps in his farewell address as follows:

"We may differ as to the method by which that freedom can best be reached both now and in the future. But upon one thing surely we must all agree—that it cannot be reached through fresh conquest of India by a power such as Japan, that has shown itself brutal and intolerant to its Asiatic sister nations."

Thus, in a letter to Cripps before his departure, Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Congress, said:

"We are agreeable to postponing the entire issue [of dominion status or independence]so that the largest measure of unity might be achieved in the present crisis of India's defense." *(New York Times,* April 12.)

And, again, during the course of the Working Committee meeting at Allahabad, the Congress President declared that India would fight to the end against invasion. *(New York Times,* May 1.) According to a United Press dispatch from Calcutta on April 19, Nehru is quoted to the effect that failure of India to cooperate with Great Britain "would be an invitation for Japanese invasion," and that although the Congress effort failed "to build up a citizen army of millions . . . we can never shirk the responsibility to defend India."

Later, according to the press stories coming from India, there was noticeable a much sharper attitude toward Britain, fed by some of the statements which had emanated from London after Cripps' arrival. On Nehru's return from the border province of Assam, where he investigated conditions of Indians evacuated from Burma ("separate

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roads are maintained for 'whites' and 'blacks,' but some Indians are allowed to take the 'white' road, 'provided they have trousers on.'" —United Press dispatch from Calcutta, April 25), he is reported to have taken a position against cooperation with British efforts in India, emphasizing that "We can only cooperate as free men and a free national government *with others who acknowledge us as such.*" *(New York Times,* April 27.) At the same time, in a message to the India League in London, he appealed to the United Nations to "acknowledge the independence of India" as a means of ending the British-Indian conflict. *(New York Times,* April 28.)

It should be clear that the persistence of a stubborn non-cooperative attitude toward the British matters of defense of India, making cooperation conditional upon the realization of full independence now, will redound neither to the best interests of Indian independence nor to the best interests of the peoples of the world. The biggest blow to the struggle for Indian independence would come from an Axis victory. The key link in the struggle for Indian independence today is to do everything possible to bring about the defeat of the Axis powers, in the first place Hitler Germany, the very heart of the Axis, a task in which Britain has a leading role to perform. It must also be realized, as Nehru himself stated previously, that failure to cooperate with Great Britain in the defense of India "would be an invitation for Japanese invasion." Nehru and his associates must bear their share of the responsibility not only for the failure of the Cripps mission but for the present state of uncertainty with regard to defending India to the extent that they fail to take the fullest opportunity afforded by the situation to hasten the mobilization of the people for defense (including all its forms—civil as well as cooperation with the army, organization of home guards, guerrilla groups, scorched-earth tactics, etc.), and thereby contribute not only to the defeat of the Axis but to the strengthening of their own independence movement and of those forces in England who can and are working to bring about a more satisfactory reorientation of British policy.

Fortunately, the authentic nationalist leaders cannot fail to take seriously into account their responsibility not only to India but to China, whose struggle for liberation they have always supported and whose troops are playing a courageous part in the defense of Burma, equally important to the security of China and India. They cannot but fail to appreciate that in the fulfillment of this responsibility they can help forge the alliance of the colonial nations and subject peoples within the United Nations and within the framework of the anti-Axis war which will provide the most substantial assurance that their aspirations for freedom and independence will be fully realized.

Fortunately, there is nothing but the greatest admiration and support among the Indian people for the great liberation struggle of the Soviet Union against Hitler and for

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the Soviet accomplishments, especially in the solution of the national question, which is an additional powerful factor determining the anti-Axis position of most of the Indian Congress leadership and people and which helps them to understand that the triumph of the United Nations is indispensable for the liberation and independence of all peoples.

Fortunately, despite the chagrin at the attitude of some sections of the American press, the Indian people have grounds to expect effective aid from the United States in their defense and in solving their conflict with England, as was shown by the welcome given the U.S. Economic Mission by the Indian industrialists and the reception received by Colonel Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's personal envoy in India.

Fortunately, they feel their responsibility to the whole colonial world, as shown by Nehru's message to the meeting of the Council on African Affairs in New York and his reply to the cable of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the Latin American Confederation of Labor, asking that he use his influence to align the people of India on the side of the democracies against the Axis.

The Indian people cannot help but take into account the lesson of China which, despite the fact that neither Britain nor the United States has yet given up their extraterritorial rights in China and despite the insulting American immigration exclusion of Orientals, does everything possible to assure the greatest measure of cooperation from both Britain and the United States for its own struggle of liberation.

As the Indian Communists, who have been persecuted by British rule even more than the Congress leaders, have emphasized in their farsighted statement, the defense of India by all means available is the sacred duty of every fighter for independence, and in this struggle, which can only strengthen the whole movement for independence and create the conditions for its final realization, they are not alone but part of the United Nations in their just war against Axis domination. On the part of the Indian people, the situation demands that they subordinate all antagonisms, no matter where the historic responsibility for them may rest, to the dominant issue of achieving internal unity and cooperation with Britain, the United States, China and the other United Nations for the defense of their country and their whole liberation movement. This is the only road through which independence can be obtained.

The United States and India

The increasing role of the United States in Asiatic affairs, particularly now in India, where it is exerting its influence to win the full cooperation of the Indian people with the United Nations and where its armed forces are already participating in joint defense, places a special responsibility upon the labor and progressive forces of our country. These forces cannot permit themselves to be identified with the position of the British Cabinet toward India, nor be drawn into the posi-

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tion of placing the main burden of responsibility upon the Indian leaders, as has been done by a leading section of the American anti-Axis press, to the amazement of Indian opinion. Such a position would be dangerously detrimental to the cause of the united offensive against Hitler and his allies and would leave an open field for the demagogy of the defeatists and fifth columnists at home as well as in the colonial world. An indication of how the defeatists in this country operate in this situation is offered by Hearst's *New York Journal-American* in its issue of March 9, which described the Japanese armies as "thundering at the gates of India, bringing the promise of freedom that the 350,000,000 people of India demand"; and again on March 31 the military-fascist armies of Japan are described as armies of liberation whose promise "is for Indian independence—not eventually, but now."

This type of demagogy can only flourish in an atmosphere of indifference or passivity on the part of the labor and progressive forces of the anti-Axis camp to the great issues raised by India. It is not accidental that American representatives in India had to deny charges that their interest was to establish long-range economic advantages for themselves. This suspicion arises and is strengthened among the Indian people in the absence of a great body of labor and progressive opinion on the Indian question which would give assurance to the Indian people that the best representative forces of the people of our country understand and sympathize with the position of the Indian nationalist movement and will exert their influence, together with the labor movement of Britain, to assure a provisional national government in India now, the arming and participation of the people in their own defense, and protection of India's right to independence at all times. Such assurance from our great organizations of labor to the Indian Congress and to the All-India Trade Union Congress would greatly help to weld the unity between the progressive forces of the Western powers and the peoples of the colonial world, and strengthen the united struggle of all anti-Axis forces for the defeat of Hitler and fascist tyranny.

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THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC WAR PLAN

BY MILTON HOWARD

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S seven-point plan to curb inflation and finance the war is the economic counterpart of the all-out foreign policy against the Axis. Its swift enactment is essential to gearing the nation for the tactic of offensive and victory in 1942.

The various enemies of victory in 1942—ranging from outright defeatists to inveterate business-as-usual reactionaries—have not been slow in perceiving the political relation between the seven-point plan and a resolute military policy against the Axis. Such groupings, in Congress and in the press, have lost no time in developing a strategy of active sabotage of the plan, drawing into their orbit even a number of unwary supporters of the Administration's war policy.

It is unfortunate that the popular forces in the nation, above all the organized labor movement, have thus far not been as rapid and vigorous in supporting the seven-point plan as the enemies of victory have been in attacking it.

This has created a serious situation not only for the plan itself; it has also given rise to a danger to the trade unions as such, and to the nation's war effort against fascism in which the labor movement naturally has the greatest stake.

This unclear understanding of the vital nature of the seven-point plan, and the passive attitude toward it up to now, are what need remedying.

Announced Plan

On April 27 Roosevelt announced his plan in a message to Congress. The immediate occasion was the realization that prices had risen 25 per cent since 1941 (the cost of living index had risen 15 per cent). With a necessary decline in the production of consumer goods, the danger of inflation had begun to rise.

(Anti-labor propaganda has deliberately exaggerated the "pressure" of increased workers' income on the price rise. Increased worker income has not been due to any general wage advance, but to the increase in the number of workers. Even the arch-conservative April *Survey of Current Business* of the U.S. Department of Commerce estimates that fully 50 per cent of the recent "income expansion" has gone not into consumer goods but into savings, purchases of war bonds,

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payment of accumulated debts, insurance, etc.)

What was of far greater relevance was the fact that uncontrolled profiteering had throughout the year quietly, invisibly, but none the less relentlessly, been reducing the real wages of the working population.

Roosevelt offered the following points for Congressional action:

1. *Profits*—"must be taxed to the utmost limit consistent with continued production."

2. *Taxes*—"we must tax heavily, and in that process keep personal and corporate profits at a reasonable rate, reasonable defined as a low level." No personal income over $25,000. No further exemptions on Federal and state securities.

3. *Rationing*—"We must ration all essential commodities of which there is a scarcity, so that they may be distributed fairly among consumers and not in accordance with financial ability to pay high prices."

4. *Wages*—"Most munition workers are toiling far more than forty hours a week and should continue to be paid at time and a half for overtime." "Wages in general can and should be kept at existing scales"; the War Labor Board "will of course continue to give due consideration to inequalities and the elimination of substandards of living."

Furthermore: "Legislation is not required under present circumstances" to "stabilize or adjust" wages. "All strikes are at a minimum." "Organized labor has voluntarily given up its right to strike during the war."

5. *Prices*—"We must fix ceilings on prices which consumers, retailers, wholesalers and manufacturers pay for the things they buy; and ceilings on rents for dwellings in all areas affected by war industries."

6. *Farm prices*—Farm price ceilings should be fixed at parity, with the present 110 per cent of parity level fixed by law to be reduced. The government to get the right to sell in the open market from its huge available stocks of "surplus" farm products.

7. *War bonds*—Double purchases by voluntary buying.

8. *Debts*—"Paying off debts and curtailment of installment buying should be made effective as soon as possible."

Basic Principles

Certain points should be noted here. The plan rejects the hue and cry for an anti-union law and for coercive wage legislation; it retains collective, voluntary agreements, with trade unionism intact.

It rejects the "freezing of wages," offering instead the plan of "stabilization or adjustment."

In taxation, it emphasizes increasing the levy on corporate incomes, with no sales tax.

There are present defects which labor would like to see remedied—lack of provision for democratic, joint labor-consumer enforcement bodies; insufficient attention to the adjustment of wages to productivity above the trade union norms; also, the price levels are set too high, instead of being "rolled back" to pre-war levels. Yet, the plan contains the basic principles for gearing the war economy to an offen-

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sive military policy in 1942 with minimum interruption of production and without any concessions to reactionaries regarding the role of organized labor. It is a basis for action, with the necessary improvements desired by labor to be considered and pressed later. It is a win-the-war economic policy.

As such, defeatists and business-as-usual reactionaries are conniving to balk it.

Defeatist Strategy

Defeatist strategy against the economic victory plan is to single out each separate group of the population, to fasten attention of this group exclusively upon its special sector, to befuddle the country's understanding of the plan *as a whole*, as a win-the-war plan. This strategy has been attended by certain success thus far. The popular forces have not spoken as we are sure they will.

Special attention has been given by reactionary propaganda to the wage section of the plan. Here the effort has been made to take advantage of certain preliminary characteristics of the wage section deliberately to deceive the country and the labor movement as to the difference between "wage freezing" and wage stabilization. Opposition to "freezing" has been loudly construed by provocative newspapers as opposition to stabilization; and conversely, enemies in labor's ranks, especially the Lewis henchmen, the Trotskyites and the Thomas Socialists, have tried to imply that the President's plan is a "wage freezing" plan, containing no provisions for adjustments or the remedying of substandard wages.

What has particularly aroused the defeatists and reactionaries has been that part of the plan which asserts the correct principle, supported by labor, that the way to defeat inflation is *not by "freezing wages" at the bottom, but by "freezing" the cost of living at the top.* Wages can be stabilized without any surrender of collective bargaining "if we can keep the cost of living down," Roosevelt told Congress.

Following the pledge by William H. Davis of the War Labor Board that the wage policy must be "flexible," defeatist and business-as-usual elements increased their bitter outcry.

Stabilization vs. "Freezing"

The wage section of the plan has, of course, received major attention from the labor movement. Labor is correct in opposing any legislation freezing wages, not only because there are millions of American workers whose weekly income is insufficient to provide a diet and living standards consistent with maximum production; not only because last year's steep price rises have slashed the real wages of all workers—steel, auto, for example—bound by last year's wage contracts; but because experience proves that even drastic price controls do not prevent upward movements in prices, rents and living costs.

The British experience has proved the necessity of periodic adjustments in the very midst of war and price controls, adjustments made

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collectively without any interruption of production, and with labor's realization of its main task—victory.

Fifth Column

The defeatist sabotage has been expressed in other ways. It has found expression in the incitement of the so-called "farm bloc" of poll-tax Senators and Congressmen representing narrow, greedy interests of wealthy landlords out to make a "killing"; in the development of a renewed "wage freezing" drive; in a particularly vicious defiance of the Administration's tax proposals on corporate incomes, with a sales tax viewed as a substitute for heavier income taxes. (The Administration's constructive proposals for tax improvements, even though insufficiently aggressive against the present "excess profits" provision which favors the corporations, have been jettisoned in the House Ways and Means Committee. The Administration has mistakenly given way before the demand for lowering tax exemptions, instead of fighting for higher surtaxes. A. F. of L. and C.I.O. have correctly protested the lowering of the tax exemptions; but have failed to fight for the seven-point plan as a whole, thus giving a tactical advantage to the defeatists.)

And finally, the enemies of labor and victory have let loose a pro-fascist provocation within the ranks of labor itself, carried by John L. Lewis defeatist forces, by Norman Thomas Socialists and Trotskyite agents of Berlin. All these obstructions to the anti-inflation plan, whether attacking from the Right or the "Left," converge into a union-wrecking, war-sabotaging, defeatist conspiracy aimed at disrupting production, aggravating internal class antagonisms for the purpose of shattering national unity and bringing about a paralysis which will save Hitler from a Western offensive in 1942.

In this manifold drive, the Lewis-Thomas-Trotskyite provocation is intended to create favorable conditions for the shattering of the forty-hour week, for abolishing the labor-employer production committees. The propaganda of the defeatist Lewis forces and this fifth column within the labor movement concentrates on making labor "forget" that the working class of the country, as the most progressive and advanced class, as the backbone of the nation, has the duty of guaranteeing victory for the nation and its allies over the barbarous threat of Axis domination. For this goal, there proceeds a torrent of strictly "economic" propaganda, pretending to express working class interests, but actually betraying those interests with the utmost cynicism, not only as regards the struggle against world fascism, but even directly as affecting the real wages of the workers. For the anti-Administration fifth column within the labor movement, with its hatred of the over-all seven-point plan, actually works to wreck the price controls which can protect the real wages of labor, as distinct from nominal wages eaten away by uncontrolled prices.

The extremes to which this poisonous activity can go are seen in

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the charge leveled by Lewis' *United Mine Workers Journal* (May) that the government's financing of the war against Hitlerism is "excessive spending"; that price control intended to protect real wages and increase output is "regimentation."

Among the farming population and the middle classes similar tactics are observable. Wealthy "farm bloc" Congressmen, who obstruct government appropriations for the Farm Security Administration, seek mass support in the rural areas for the sabotaging proposal to forbid government sales of farm surpluses, and for uncontrolled prices. That the dirt farmer as a consumer of manufactured goods needs price control, that he needs protection from a sales tax as well as other sections of the toiling population, is kept hidden.

Need Support

Important sections of the trade unions have begun to grasp the need to counteract these war-wrecking activities. Such unions as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine, the California, New York and Buffalo C.I.O. Industrial Councils, and others have already declared their support for the seven-point plan and the readiness to fight for it.

That there will be "sacrifices" goes without question. But American labor does not approach these questions in any spirit of "sacrifice" reluctantly given to some "alien" cause; this is the life-and-death cause of labor itself.

Labor flings itself into the battle; it is the cause of the national independence, of the future of mankind which is at stake. In this just, people's war, there can be no thought of narrow interests which harm the greater goal of victory over Hitlerism. Labor is indeed the backbone of the nation, with the duties and obligations which go with its advanced historic position.

Labor's interest and duty require an understanding that the seven-point plan is an integral part of the fight for victory; that certain vital improvements can and should be incorporated in it, especially with regard to adjustments to protect working and health efficiency. But, that the immediate task is to uncover and rout the latest effort of the defeatists and the fifth column to sabotage military victory by wrecking or delaying the economic war plan. For the President's seven-point plan will help facilitate and strengthen the national war effort and will contribute to the launching of an all-out offensive by America and Britain, together with the great Soviet offensive to smash Hitler and the Nazi Axis in 1942.

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STRENGTHENING NATIONAL UNITY IN THE ELECTIONS

BY MORRIS CHILDS

THE first elections of national significance since Pearl Harbor took place in Illinois on April 14. They were primary elections fought out around the one decisive issue facing our country—winning the war against the Hitler Axis.

All attempts by various candidates and groups to inject side issues, personalities and other diversions into the campaign failed; for in the minds of the people this main issue overshadowed everything else.

These primary elections were the preliminary bouts. The decisive battles will take place in November. But even so, the results indicate that the forces of national unity have won the first round, and if certain weaknesses shown in the primary are overcome, there is no doubt that the electorate can and will deliver a crushing blow to the pro-fascist defeatist candidates.

In Illinois it is now apparent that the election of candidates on the Democratic ticket (with minor exceptions) will be the chief electoral medium of expression for the camp of national unity and the all-out war effort, since it has the candidates and the program to achieve this victory, and the active support of the main sections of organized labor.

The total vote of the Democratic Party surpassed by 100,000 the total vote of the Republican Party in a relatively light primary. In Chicago the Democratic vote was three times as great as the Republican. These figures, moreover, do not represent the full measure of the strength which can be mobilized behind the Democratic Party.

The total Democratic vote for United States Senator was 950,000, the Republican slightly under 850,000. Since both Democratic candidates, Representative McKeough, the winner, and Alderman Douglas, the loser, pledged allegiance to Roosevelt and his anti-Hitler foreign policies, and since this was the major question in the minds of the voters, the fight within the Democratic primary did not assume the sharpest form and did not tend to bring out a larger vote.

Of course, the anti-Hitler camp dare not be complacent and self-satisfied with the turnout in the primaries. It is clear now that a more energetic campaign and greater activity on its part would have resulted in an overwhelming

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demonstration for national unity. These and other weaknesses must be remedied before November.

The Republican Vote

Let us analyze the Republican vote. If seen only from a statistical point of view and as a bloc, it might be interpreted as showing a gain for that party. The fact of the matter is that the Republican vote was not homogeneous; it was split along fundamental policies.

The unprincipled alliance of Governor Green's machine, the McCormick forces, assorted Bundists, "We, the Mothers," Coughlinites, etc., could not deliver more than 670,000 votes to Senator Brooks. It is well to remember that the Illinois primaries took place before the meeting of the National Committee of the Republican Party, and that the state machinery of that party was, as it is now, in the grip of the appeasers and defeatists. Yet, without any organized support within or outside of the Republican Party, Brooks' opponent, Wright, running on a program of support of the President and his foreign policy, polled more than 20 per cent of the Republican vote. This vote represents an important body of normally Republican voters who are ready to repudiate the defeatist Republican machine of the state, and will do so in the final elections.

An even more outstanding example of the schism within the Republican Party is the vote for Congressman-at-Large. The fight here was between the friend of the Nazi agent George Sylvester Viereck, Congressman Day, who had the support of the Republican machine, and Denison Hull, chairman of the former Fight for Freedom Committee. Day barely slipped through to win the nomination, but Hull piled up a vote of over 270,000. In this case also, Hull's vote came from Republicans who placed their country's survival above narrow partisan politics. And there can be no doubt that with an effective campaign by the Victory forces these Republicans will surely not cast their vote for the defeatist candidates in November.

Furthermore, among the 670,000 who did vote for Brooks, many thousands unquestionably did not realize they were voting for a policy of defeatism. They voted the regular Republican ticket, in accordance with their long-standing party allegiance. This is especially true downstate, which has been traditionally Republican since the days of Lincoln.

Many of these Republican voters will certainly become aware of the real issues in the process of the election campaign, and can be broken away from Brooks and the *Chicago Tribune*.

The *Chicago Daily News*, influential anti-Axis Republican newspaper, expressed the sentiment in the minds of a large section of the Republican electorate when, in an editorial on April 16, speaking of the coming elections, it said:

"At that time the people will vote not as partisans in an apathetic primary but as patriotic citizens, exercising their duties of citizenship in the throes of a great war. We do not believe for one moment that the citizens of Illinois will consent to

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the return of obstructionists like Day and Brooks to the House and Senate. Under ordinary conditions they might be tolerated, for they could do little harm. But in time of war it would not only be disgraceful but also dangerous for Illinois to be represented by men who, by their own actions, have demonstrated that they hold partisanship above patriotism. We think, therefore, that Brooks and Day will be defeated in November no less decisively than they themselves, with machine support, defeated their own independent adversaries last Tuesday.

"The *Daily News*, for its own part, acting independently of party and having in mind only the vital interests of the nation at war, hereby pledges itself to do its utmost to contribute to the defeat of Brooks and Day. It will support in November, for United States Senator, Raymond McKeough, and for Congressman-at-Large, Benjamin Adamowski."

The majority of newspapers in Chicago—Republican, Democratic and independent—the *Chicago Times*, the *Sun*, and *the Daily News*, have massed behind McKeough, further bolstering the anti-Hitler camp.

Hundreds of thousands of Republican voters who were against the policy of the Republican machine abstained from voting. They felt that Wright stood no chance of beating Brooks, but they did not wish to enter the Democratic primaries. Under the Illinois primary laws, participation in the primaries of one party prohibits the voter from voting in a primary for the candidates of any other party for the two years following. This limitation will not hold in November.

The Role of Labor

The organized labor movement played a decisive role in determining the outcome of the elections. More than any other group it emphasized the main issue of the campaign, and gave its endorsement to McKeough precisely because it refused to permit false issues to supersede the paramount issue of national unity and victory.

The choice of labor was based upon the following considerations: (a) The nation's war against Hitlerism must be won—that is the main issue. (b) The defeatist candidates (Brooks, Day and others) constitute the enemy in these elections and must be defeated at all costs. (c) Any group or person deviating from these main tasks hinders the war effort, past reputations or "liberal" labels notwithstanding.

This position of labor in the fight for national unity was recognized by the Democratic nominee, McKeough. In a speech delivered before the primaries, he emphasized the significance of labor's role in the war in these wards:

"Leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. at their Pittsburgh rally set an example which will have a far-reaching stimulus upon our war effort. Labor has put patriotism above everything else. It has demonstrated statesmanship and intelligence of a high order. Labor knows that united in spirit and in purpose it can outproduce all the serfs that Hitler can dragoon into working the mills, the

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mines and machines upon which the Axis must depend to carry on its aggression.

"I was proud before this collaboration between A. F. of L. and C.I.O. groups was arranged to have been assured the support of the members of both unions in Illinois as a candidate for United States Senator. Now that those union leaders have buried the hatchet I am doubly proud of being preferred by those patriotic Americans."

Douglas did not take such a position, and therefore was not endorsed or given support by the labor movement. In his campaign he placed major stress upon questions tending to divert the electorate from the war issues. For example, Douglas attempted to fan the prejudices that have existed between downstate Illinois and Chicago. He offered himself as the Galahad of "Good Government" who would destroy the Kelly-Nash machine, and since he could find no arguments against McKeough on questions of policy, he condemned him as the candidates of Kelly and Nash.

One very dangerous slogan raised by Douglas was "Defeat Brooks and Kelly-Nash," which falsely places the problem of machine politics on the same plane as smashing the defeatists.

This type of campaign created many dangers for the national unity camp. John L. Lewis and his henchmen were quick to sense the possibilities. Thus Ray Edmundson, on the very eve of the election, pulled out of his pocket the defunct Labor's Non-Partisan League, and in its name, and that of the United Mine Workers of America, District 12, picked up the slogan, "Kelly-Nash Is Our Foe." Edmundson, on behalf of John L. Lewis, inserted quarter-page advertisements in all of the most important papers in the state. These advertisements did not even mention "war," "fascism" or "Hitler," let alone unity and victory. Afraid to endorse "Curly" Brooks openly, Lewis appealed to the workers to defeat "Kelly-Nash," laying the basis for an "official" endorsement of the *Chicago Tribune's* pro-Hitler slate. (It is also interesting to note that in some of these advertisements appearing in defeatist papers an additional paragraph defending Colonel McCormick and the *Chicago Tribune* was inserted.)

Resorting to Leftist phrases and demagogy, Lewis talked about labor's martyrs, charging that the leadership of the C.I.O. had betrayed the trust of the rank and file, because the Illinois C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. had endorsed a candidate of the Democratic Party. Thereby Lewis aimed to divert the attention of the workers from he main issues, to emphasize class dissension, hamper the war effort, and disrupt labor and national unity.

Lewis' order to Edmundson to sever the district Mine Workers' relations with the State C.I.O. could only have had the effects of disrupting the election campaign and helping to split labor for the benefit of the Republican political machine. Lewis was properly rebuked, not only by the C.I.O., which remained united, but also by the joint action of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. in their endorsement of McKeough.

Although the two trade union or-

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ganizations issued separate statements of endorsement, and have not yet realized the fullest unity, their action did serve to bring labor unity on the political field a step nearer and laid the basis for labor's active and decisive joint participation in the November elections. Cooperation between C.I.O. and A. F. of L. on a local scale, the setting up of Victory Committees for increased production, and the formation of joint labor election committees in behalf of candidates running on the platform of national unity, will isolate the splitters and defeatists within the labor movement.

Virtually all the candidates for Congress on the Democratic Party ticket who were endorsed by the labor movement were nominated. But not only did the labor movement influence the election of certain candidates; preceding the primaries, it was also able, by virtue of its strength, to compel the weeding out from the Democratic Party slate of certain Congressmen with anti-labor records, such as Congress Beam (3rd District), Kocialkowski (8th), and Schuetz (7th).

The election campaign has proven that labor cannot give endorsements "as usual," just as the Congressional election campaign cannot be conducted "as usual." The workers of Illinois were surprised to read in the *Federation News,* organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, that the arch-appeaser and friend of Hitler, Representative Day, Republican candidate for Congressman-at-Large, was endorsed by William Green and by A. F. Whitney of the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Labor is not questioning Mr. Green's and Mr. Whitney's attitude toward the war, which is the fundamental problem. But labor *does* question their business-as-usual "balance sheet" method of parliamentary endorsement of Day which in these grave times weakens the fight against the principal enemy and tends to obscure the main issue.

It will avail labor little to place in office Congressmen who have "voted right" on some of labor's demands, but who compromise the national welfare and future of our country by sabotaging the nation's war effort against fascist tyranny.

The defeat of the fascist Axis, the opening up of a second front in Europe now to smash Hitler in 1942, can be the only measuring rod in the elections. Every statement, every letter, every endorsement, every political document must be based on the fundamental issues, the winning of the war, annihilating Hitler and Hitlerism this year, entering 1943 without Hitler and the Nazis.

The Negro People

It has been asked why such an outstanding progressive and fighter for Negro rights as Alderman Earl B. Dickerson, who ran for Congress, and who had the endorsement of labor, failed of nomination.

The fact is that Dickerson committed some errors which threatened the nomination of McKeough and definitely paved the way for his own defeat. Early in the campaign Dickerson tied himself up with the Douglas group (toward which gravitated all dissident elements,

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regardless of principle). When the Chicago C.I.O. Council endorsed Alderman Dickerson, it was assured in a declaration by Dickerson that he had disassociated himself from Douglas; yet even after this declaration he continued to speak on the same platform with Douglas and delivered a number of radio speeches in his behalf.

It was felt that this type of campaign endangered the nomination of McKeough, obscured the important issues, and played into the hands of the Republicans. Dickerson's opponent, William L. Dawson, conducted a consistent campaign on the same platform with McKeough. The result was that Dickerson went down to defeat together with Douglas.

The statement of Dawson, made after he won the nomination in the First Congressional District, shows that in him the people in that district have a candidate around whom they can unite. "Winning the war is the paramount concern of all true Americans," he said. "I believe in the policies of President Roosevelt. I shall also work for the enforcement of the constitutional rights of the 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States."

It is of paramount importance that the progressive forces in the First District attain the strongest possible unity. The defeatists will concentrate in this highly important area, the heart of the great Negro population. The Republicans always have had a big following there, and Brooks polled one of his highest votes from this district. Unity of action will ensure that the Negro people will remain in the anti-Hitler electoral camp and will rebuff the instigators of disunity, those who distort the grievances of the Negro people for their own ends.

The people on the South Side of Chicago had before them in the primaries two progressive candidates in Dickerson and Dawson. But now that the nomination is over, the people will expect of both leaders an example of united effort in order to assure defeat of the fascist enemies of democracy and our country.

The period since the primary elections has shown that the defeatists have not changed their platform. The *Chicago Tribune,* in its "analysis" of the outcome of the primary, concentrated its fire against the national war effort, against the Soviet Union and our other allies in the United Nations, against the second European front, against the Administration, even going so far as to accuse Washington of having failed "to send effective help to the Americans and their Filipino comrades who were abandoned in Bataan."

However, there is a danger that some people may be misled into supporting the *Tribune* candidates since the adoption by the Republican Party National Committee of Willkie's resolution on policy. Let such people be reminded that, after the adoption of this resolution, the *Tribune,* in an editorial on April 22, declared that in its opinion this resolution is not binding upon Republicans. In its own words, "It is not the right of the National Committee to break new ground in

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party policy." Or again, "The resolution . . . adopted by the National Committee, whatever it means, or doesn't mean, is not binding upon members of the party or their candidates in the autumn elections." It is clear that the *Tribune* and such elements within the Republican Party continue to stand on their old platform. It is quite possible that Senator Brooks and Congressman Day—who during the primary campaign tried to avoid discussion of the war by their all-inclusive answer that everyone is for the war since Pearl Harbor—may try demagogically to wrap themselves in the Republican Party resolution and thus sneak into office.

The section of the Republican Party resolution which deals with the war, is, of course, significant. It will undoubtedly encourage anti-defeatist forces in the Republican Party throughout the country, and make it possible in some states to help these forces to win in the coming primaries. In Illinois, however, the Republican machine candidates will probably try to utilize the resolution to cover up their defeatist and anti-national policies. Certainly, if McCormick, Brooks, Day and their ilk pay lip service to the Republican Party resolution, inadequate as it is, they will do so in the same manner as the Ham Fishes and Tafts, as a means to shield their continued attacks against the Administration and the national anti-fascist war effort.

To a certain extent, Wendell Willkie, too, noted this and recognized that these elements must be defeated. In his statement issued immediately after the adoption of the resolution, he said:

"The next job for Republicans to do is to see to it that in the coming primaries candidates are nominated, not alone for Congress, but for other positions of public influence, who have the courage to declare and who believe sincerely these principles and their necessary implications."

In primaries still to take place in other states, the people will have to give serious consideration to the experiences of the Illinois primaries. Certain possibilities for positive utilization of the Republican Party resolution in the interest of national unity, as well as the danger that defeatist elements will use the resolution as a camouflage to undermine the nation's war against Hitler and the Axis, and to worm their way into positions of power, must be considered.

The defeatists work in many ways to weaken national unity. They use the most ingenious arguments for the purpose of disrupting the unity of the people. Colonel McCormick, utilizing the pages of the traitorous *Chicago Tribune*, broadcasts the old Lindbergh canard that there may be no elections in the future in this country unless there is a strong "opposition." By this argument the defeatists ostensibly come forward as defenders of the two-party system, and thereby secure many votes. The defeatists make another dangerous appeal to the agrarian sections of the country, skillfully seeking to set countryside against city. A further development of this argument is the favorite McCormick

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theme that midwesterners have different interests to defend than do the "internationally-minded" people of the East, who are "under the sway of the money-interests of Wall Street."

Diverse arguments to split national unity emanate from this camp; they try to utilize the grievances of every class and group to drive a wedge into the unity of the nation; they clamor for anti-labor legislation to create class strife and hamper production; they attempt to gain by the grievances of those sections of the middle class that have not yet been fitted into the program of conversion; they try to pit white against Negro, native against foreign-born, and even one section of industry against another. The price-control program of the Administration is characterized in bold *Tribune* headlines as "decrees," with insinuations that it should be resisted. Thus the defeatists set themselves to undermine the people's will.

The people's forces for national unity must be aware of these intrigues and arguments, must expose them and keep in mind that the anti-fascist national front is not an abstraction or a mere slogan, but a vital mobilization of all sections of the population with labor as the backbone, unifier and most consistent champion, which must be constantly fought for and strengthened.

Strengthening National Unity

All sides are now girding themselves for the November elections. It will not be a pushover to defeat Brooks and Day. The anti-Hitler forces must recognize the seriousness and scope of the task ahead. They must not underestimate the resources and power of the reactionary camp of defeatists.

In the words of McKeough:

"Everyone of us must realize that the price of victory will have been paid in vain if the men you send to Washington fail to translate the will of the people. . . . We have solemnly dedicated ourselves to the victorious conclusion of our war against tyranny. . . . Unity is the greatest contribution that can possibly be made to the cause of freedom"

The task in Illinois is to build around a "Smash Hitler in 1942" program, around united labor action, around the Democratic candidates, the unity of all those who want to win the war against Hitlerism, to elect a win-the-war slate and crush the defeatists

Every possibility exists to bring into the camp of national unity those Republicans who voted for the anti-defeatist candidates in the Republican primaries. It is also vital to rally those who abstained from voting in the primaries, especially the Republicans who could not bring themselves to vote for Brooks and Day but were not yet ready to break with their traditional party allegiance. Finally, as clarity is brought into the campaign, hundreds of thousands of Republicans who were misled into voting for the defeatists will place patriotism above party label and can be won over to support of the win-the-war camp. Victory must be enhanced by winning over these great masses of Republicans.

In the conduct of the election

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campaign the anti-Hitler side will have to display a much greater amount of vigor, militancy, enthusiasm and solidarity than it did in the primaries. The defeatists were then much more articulate and openly active. A veritable army of outstanding defeatists, cronies of the Lindberghs and Coughlins, invaded Illinois to lend a hand to Brooks and Day. Senators and Congressmen of this tribe made appearances at various meetings and on the radio, issued statements, and worked to emphasize that this election was of national importance. Martin Dies, reaction's strong-arm man, made a special trip to the town of Rockford to aid the campaign of Noah Mason, his fellow-member on the Dies Committee.

Thus Dies, the defeatist Democrat, showed that party labels are of no significance, when he came into Illinois urging Democrats to vote for a fellow-appeaser, the Republican Mason. This kind of activity was not matched by solidarity on the part of the anti-Hitler forces —a situation that will have to be remedied in the coming campaign.

Just as labor has set an example of patriotism in its incessant battle for production, in its adherence to its pledges of continuous work and subordination of all questions to the main task of winning the war, so it will, through greater independent political initiative and activities, set the example and help forge the broadest unity of action now of all anti-Hitler forces around a program for victory over Hitler in 1942 and for the election of the anti-fascist candidates in November.

Labor will help show this example by the setting up of joint election committees of A. F. of L., C.I.O., and Railroad Brotherhoods, by the development of greater cooperation, by issuing more election literature and showing to the people in every way that labor acts unitedly as one. In this way it will inspire the entire population to unite for the defeat of the enemies of our country and people.

Conclusion

A study of the vote cast in every county in Illinois shows that it was the industrial cities which formed the main base for the win-the-war candidates. But the agrarian areas cast their votes mainly for the Republican Party obstructionists and defeatists. The labor movement, more than any other group of the population, has the task of helping the farmers to see through the demagogy and maneuvers of the obstructionists, who are even now carrying on a fight against President Roosevelt's economic program by spreading dissension between farmer and labor, and thus hindering the country's mobilization for victory.

The farmers of Illinois, by increasing crop acreage not only of food, but particularly of industrial raw materials (for example, acreage of such an essential war crop as soy beans, which was increased more than 1,000,000 acres over last year), have shown they are for the war.

Many of the trade unions, by virtue of their position in production, have intimate contacts with the farmers. This is especially true of

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such unions as the Farm Equipment Workers, the Cannery, Agricultural and Packing Workers, and the Mine Workers. In some towns, such as Peoria, many thousands of the workers in the industrial plants come from the farm and many still live on the farm.

On the basis of the program of national unity to win the war, the trade unions can go to the farmers and work together with them for common aims against the common enemy. The form that this cooperation will take may vary, but whatever the form it will help to defeat the appeasers within the labor movement, such as John L. Lewis, and the candidates of the Republican Party in Illinois who have until now counted the farm vote as theirs.

The experiences of the labor movement in 1936 and 1938 show that farm-labor cooperation is realizable.

All facts and indications point to the possibility of victory over the obstructionists and defeatists. This victory is contingent upon the mobilization of the entire front of national unity; of all those who desire the defeat of Hitler and the entire Axis, of all those who believe in democracy.

This means united action upon the part of white and Negro, native and foreign-born, worker, farmer, and business man. The labor movement can and must give inspiration and leadership commensurate with its position and strength today. The Communist Party, as in the primary campaign, will continue to work together with the broad labor movement and with all the strata of the population for achievement of a people's victory and a repudiation of the sinister forces symbolized by the *Chicago Tribune* and its brood of pro-fascist defeatists.

This kind of election campaign undertaken now will strengthen the growing movement in Illinois and the Midwest for the immediate opening of a Western Front against the main enemy of America and the United Nations—Hitler Germany. It will also make possible the vast strengthening of national unity.

The people of the Prairie State, the state that gave Abraham Lincoln to the country, are determined to wipe out the shame and disgrace of the America First-*Tribune* gang in Congress. The fall elections can result in rooting out from public life those who, either through blindness or treachery, would betray our country. In November, Illinois can and probably will send to Congress the third largest delegation from all the states under the banner of national unity, and for the victory of the peoples and the United Nations over Hitler and fascism. Toward this end it is necessary that everything shall be done immediately, by labor and the people, by all enemies of Hitlerism, to develop and conduct the election campaign from now on, in that spirit, with the great purpose of concentrating everything for helping to weld labor and national unity, for opening a Second Front in Europe now, for developing common fighting action between America, Britain and the Soviet Union, to destroy Hitler this year.

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NORMAN THOMAS—A SPEARHEAD OF FASCISM

BY ISRAEL AMTER

FACING the possibility of the opening up of the second front in Europe, Hitler is intensifying his "peace offensive." A year ago he sent Rudolf Hess to England on a mission of that kind. Newspaper reports indicate that during the past weeks, eight such "peace offers" have been made by Hitler. The purpose of this so-called peace offensive is to demobilize the United Nations, cause confusion, and present Hitler as the man who wants to end the war, as the messenger of peace. Whenever the danger becomes greater for him, Hitler talks loudly about peace—a Hitler peace—the fascist peace of the graveyard.

While carrying on warfare in several parts of the world, Hitler does not depend only on guns, ships, and planes. He also carries on ideological propaganda to disorientate the United Nations. He aims to make the people of the United States believe that they foolishly are sacrificing the lives of their sons for the sake of England, for the sake of the Soviet Union. He prates about having no intention of curbing American interests in the Western Hemisphere. He ridicules President Roosevelt's warning about the closeness of Dakar to the western hemisphere. He "disclaims" the idea of an invasion of the western hemisphere. Nevertheless, on May 9th, Vice-President Wallace warned us that there is danger of "an attack by Japan against Alaska and our Northwest coast, at a time when German transport planes will be shuttled across from Dakar to furnish stiffening and leadership to a German uprising in Latin America."

How does Hitler go about offering us the peace of death? Not only on the battlefield, but through his own agents as well as fascist agents of all nationalities in the democratic countries. He operates also through native fascists, fifth columnists, and defeatists. These people have become particularly active now that the opening of the Western front is on the order of the day. The task of these agents is to raise doubt, cause confusion, sow distrust between the United States and its Allies, cause lack of confidence in our government, create friction and clashes between labor and capital, between workers and farmers, sharpen antagonisms among the national groups, deepen animosities between whites and Negroes—in

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short, to do everything possible to weaken the rapidly growing national unity of our country behind President Roosevelt, and among the United Nations. Above all, its aim is to dampen the morale in the armed forces and in civilian life, to hamper war production and thus to keep our country from playing its destined part in the destruction of fascism.

Such agents are the now supposedly disbanded Nazi Bund, the Ku Klux Klan, and the host of fascist, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro organizations and fascist fifth-column individuals, such as Deatherage, Pelley, Winrod, Smith, Lawrence Dennis, Coughlin, Lindbergh, Nye, Fish, Reynolds, etc., etc. Disruptive activities of a similar character are carried on by certain anti-labor, open-shop employers and Congressmen. Each one of them plays his particular part in disrupting national unity. This policy is carried further among the masses by the defeatist, fifth columnist press, such as the *New York Daily News,* the Hearst press, the Scripps-Howard press, the *Chicago Tribune,* and the *Washington Post.* All of these forces serve the aims of fascism and do everything in their power to defeat the aims of the United Nations, which are determined to destroy Hitlerism on a world-wide scale.

Within the labor movement, John L. Lewis plays a particular part. Lewis is aligned with William Hutcheson and other defeatist labor leaders, for the disruption, disorientation and demoralization of the labor movement. Labor plays a particular part in this war. Eleven million organized members of the trade union movement are moving to the front in determining the course of the war, and thus will also help in determining the outcome of the war and the peace settlement. Organized labor on an international scale is seeking unity. Lewis belongs to the defeatist camp. Through District 50 of the U.M.W.A. and the Construction Workers Union he aims to break up recognized labor bodies. He is using District 50 for the purpose of coralling the farmers of the country into the defeatist camp. Organized labor is alert to the plans of Lewis; the farmers are beginning to understand his aims and to repudiate him.

A special task in this defeatist plot is given to Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party supposedly is a working class party. It banks on the fame of Eugene Debs, the great working class leader, whose position today it is misrepresenting.

Thomas and the Socialists pretend to stand for "socialism." The workers know that socialism is being built in the Soviet Union and thus might confound Thomas's "socialism" with the tremendous achievements of the Soviet Union. Thomas pretends to be a real "revolutionist," in that he and his party oppose our participation in the present war. He pretends to be a friend of labor in that he and his party disavow the agreement of labor for the duration of the war to withhold from striking as a weapon for improving their condition. Together with the stool-pigeon Trotskyites, Thomas does everything in his

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power to prevent the united war effort.

The role of Thomas and his party as a spearhead of fascism stands out blatantly. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party met on December 8th, the day after the attack on Pearl Harbor. It adopted a position regarding the war, which it did not publish until December 20th in *The Call*. In this statement, the Socialist Party declared:

"The present war in the Pacific, in which the Pacific islands are primarily points of naval strategy, is being fought to decide the dominance of the Far East."

The statement further declared that it is "an imperialist struggle which we opposed and continue to oppose."

Thus, the Socialist Party takes a position utterly falsifying the character of the war and absolutely opposed to the interests of our country and the people of the world. In the same issue of *The Call,* Thomas declares:

"It is, however, to our advantage to limit our involvement as much as possible and to avoid great expeditionary forces in Europe, Asia and Africa."

Thomas adds:

"It was with satisfaction that I heard President Roosevelt ask only for a declaration of war against Japan."

What do we see in these statements? First, the assertion that this is an imperialist war in which the workers cannot be interested, a war for imperialist domination of the Far East. Thomas ignores the fact that China alone has been involved in this war for more than ten years and is fighting for its liberation. Secondly, Thomas "forgets" that the United States has promised independence to the Philippines; and thirdly, he "forgets" that while talking peace, Japan stabbed us in the back at Pearl Harbor, in an attack that is an organic part of the fascist Axis drive for subjugating the world. These facts, in addition to the wanton invasion of European countries by Hitler and Mussolini, mean nothing to Norman Thomas.

In conformity with the needs and desires of Hitler, Thomas proposes that our army shall not be sent outside the Western hemisphere. That is exactly what Hitler wants, so as to prevent or weaken a second front in Europe. Thomas was also thankful that up to that time Roosevelt had called for a declaration of war only on Japan. At the moment of his writing, Thomas clearly revealed that he agreed with an outstanding point of Hitler's program, namely, to involve the United States in the war in the Far East, so as to prevent the shipping of forces to the European continent to destroy Hitler there. Hitler has indeed a good friend in Thomas.

Thomas and his camp ridicule the possibility of an invasion of the Western hemisphere. In the January 24th, 1942, issue of *The Call,* in an article by Harry P. Howard, we read:

"Nazi Germany, though it has declared war on the U.S. (several months after the navy had launched

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an undeclared war against German submarines in the Atlantic), has threatened and can threaten no American territory anywhere at present."

Not for the first time has the Socialist Party ridiculed the danger of an attack on the Western hemisphere. It is Hitler's program to pretend that the United States faces no danger and will be rewarded with no attacks, provided we keep our hands off Europe, stop sending aid to Britain and the Soviet Union, and above all hush all talk of a second front in Europe.

Thomas' attitude toward Hitler-Germany is organically connected with his hatred of the Soviet Union. Long before the war began, Thomas and his "Socialists" expressed their bitter hatred of the Socialist State. Now, that the Soviet Union is in the war and is playing such a heroic part, and now that also the Soviet Union is our most powerful ally, Thomas and the Socialist Party do everything in their power to undermine its prestige. Thomas and all fascists pretend that the Soviet Union is simply another "totalitarian" state, and that Stalin is a "dictator." Thus, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in a supplementary statement published in *The Call* on Feb. 17, 1942, said:

"However advantageous the Russian alliance may be, from the military viewpoint, it is obvious that no victory for democracy against totalitarianism will be won by such a military and political combination."

Lord Beaverbrook, Joseph E. Davies, Harry Hopkins, W. L. Harriman, and many others who have witnessed the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the expression of the broadest democracy in the Soviet Union, recognize that the Soviet Union is a democratic state, even though they do not fully understand or accept the basis of that democracy. Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party merely parrot the slanders of the fifth column when the latter speaks of "red and brown bolshevism." One would think that the day for such talk is long past, for the people of the United States understand better. But Hitler has his aims which are being fulfilled by his agents, namely, to misrepresent our most powerful ally, the Soviet Union, and thus weaken the United Nations.

Hitler fears a Western Front in Europe. He knows it means his end and he is doing everything possible in the United States and Great Britain to prevent the establishment of a second front against him.

On the other hand, Hitler is doing whatever he can to bring about a second front against his most powerful enemy, the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government has entered into a neutrality pact with Japan. This at least to some degree protects the Far Eastern areas of the Soviet Union from attack and enables the Soviet Government to concentrate its forces on the Soviet-German front. This is of advantage, not only to the Soviet Union, but to all the United Nations, since it makes it possible the more rapidly to bring about the defeat and downfall of Hitler. Hitler does not want this—

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nor does Norman Thomas. The "Socialist" *Call* therefore resorts to methods of provocation. Thus, in the March 21 issue, we read:

"Apparently, however, the Soviet Government will neither use its forces against Japan, nor permit the United States to use Soviet air and other bases."

If the Soviet Government were to permit the United States to use any bases on Soviet soil, this would represent a cause for hostilities by Japan and create the second front that Hitler wants. President Roosevelt has recognized this and therefore does not press for the utilization of Siberian bases. The pilot of an American bomber which attacked Tokio on April 18th, came down on Soviet soil and, according to international law, was interned. The correctness of this internment was recognized by Secretary of State Hull—but not by Norman Thomas. He wants war against the U.S.S.R.

Peace will come, but only when the United Nations have definitely defeated and routed the Axis powers. This does not prevent Hitler, however, from making his "peace offensive" and using such people as Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party for demagogically raising the question among people who are not completely clear on what the war entails. Thus, we read in a statement of the National Executive of the Socialist Party in *The Call* of Jan. 17, 1942:

"The day will come, perhaps sooner than we now dare hope, when a peace offensive based on this world-wide appeal will accomplish far more than the continuation of this immensely destructive war. . . . The Socialist Party therefore declares its aim to be A DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST VICTORY." (Emphasis in the original.)

Hitler is not worried by Thomas' "democratic" and "Socialist" peace. Hitler is used to such terms as "Socialist." The name of his party is "National-Socialist Party." He came to power on the basis of a so-called fight against plutocracy. Mussolini was a "Socialist"; Laval was a "Socialist"; Norman Thomas, too, is a "Socialist." He offers the world only one kind of peace—the peace of a Hitler, a Mussolini, a Laval. On May 6th, 1942, George W. Hartman, Socialist candidate in the 1941 municipal elections in New York, suggested an immediate peace—"even a negotiated peace." (*PM*, May 7th, 1942.) Hitler's peace-boys, Thomas and Hartman, are doing their best for Hitler.

The Socialist Party realizes that its anti-war position is inacceptable to the American people; nevertheless, to perform its service to Hitler, it must raise questions that will keep it before the public eye. Hence, Thomas and the Socialist Party have become the stalwart "champions" of civil liberties. *The Call* of March 28 raises the cry:

"You can lick Hitler but get a kind of Hitlerism over here or in England. You can fight for democracy in Europe but lose it at home in the process."

The purpose of this "concern" for civil liberties is to raise doubts in the minds of the people as to the justness of the war effort, to cause them to become apathetic, and to

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prevent them from being mobilized for all-out production and an all-out effort to win the war. But the position of the Socialist Party makes it acceptable to its own allies. In the "Keep America Out of War Committee," Thomas has associated with such people as Hamilton Fish. He frequently cooperated with the America First Committee. Thomas spoke on the same platform with Lindbergh. America First means General Wood, Lindbergh, Nye and Wheeler. America First collaborated with the Nazi Bund, the Christian Front and Coughlin. The recent meeting in New York at which Hartman spoke was organized by pacifists, but was attended by Women United, the Christian Front, and Christian Mobilizers. *(PM,* May 7, 1942.) This shows a natural coalition with other fascist forces in this country. This places Thomas on a platform similar to that of Coughlin and Lindbergh, who spew forth anti-Semitic propaganda in order to divide our country. Thus it was natural for Thomas to come out in defense of Coughlin. An editorial in *The Call* of April 25 says:

"Apart from such considerations, it is hard to see what the Administration is accomplishing by banning *Social Justice.*"

The editorial also criticises the "avalanche of abuse against Coughlin." Why does *The Call* take this position? Why does it defend Coughlin? Thomas knows that the government is intent upon smashing the fifth column. He knows the people understand full well what the function of the fifth column is, namely, to undermine the war effort and to aid our enemy. President Roosevelt warned against the fifth column and its undermining of the faith of our people. Archibald MacLeish has warned us against it. Vice-President Wallace, in a speech on May 9, declared:

"We must be especially prepared to stifle the fifth columnists in the United States who will try to sabotage not merely our war material plans but, even more important, our minds."

The Department of Justice is operating on this basis. Foreign and domestic fascists are being taken in hand. Hence, Norman Thomas plays a special role among the workers, stands by his associates in the Christian Front and America First, and becomes particularly vociferous now that the Western Front may be in the process of planning, and to counteract which Hitler is making his "peace offensive."

How serious this is may be judged by the activities of John L. Lewis. It was at a gathering in Washington of defeatists and fifth columnists that Lewis proposed his false "unity" plan for organized labor. It is down in the shops and factories that the Thomasites, Trotskyites, Lewis supporters and their ilk support this plan and do everything to obstruct war production. It is in the shops, factories and plants that Thomasites and Trotskyites, ignoring the war situation and the pledges of the trade unions not to use the strike weapon for the duration, try to foment strikes and undermine the prestige of trade

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union leaders. This sabotage is sharply expressed in a headline in the Jan. 31 issue of *The Call*, reading:

"Workers Won't Be Bluffed; Militant Struggle Spreads."

How Norman Thomas and John L. Lewis wish that it might spread! American labor is loyal to the nation's cause and ignores the plea of the Thomas Socialists, John L. Lewis and the Trotskyites, who try to stir up the labor movement, lower production and prevent the opening of the Second Front. Their aim is fundamentally to break down the faith of the workers in our government's war program, cause dissension, and in this way aid Hitler.

Thomas and *The Call* try to heap confusion on Debs' position against the first World War—the same position that Earl Browder took and for which both Debs and Browder went to prison—in order to attack the position that Earl Browder and the Communist Party have taken in the present world war. This war is not an imperialist war. It is a people's war. The March 21 issue of *The Call* refers to Debs as though he would be in opposition to the position taken by Browder today, asking demagogically:

"What do you say, Comrade Gene Debs?"

Debs allegedly replies, "While there is a lower class I am in it. . . ."

Where would Gene Debs be today? Debs would be where the American people are, where the British people are, where the Soviet people are. He would be on the firing line fighting shoulder to shoulder with the American people—where Norman Thomas is *not*—rallying the people for an all-out war and for the Western front. Debs would express his contempt for the tools of fascism that have turned an ostensibly working-class party, the Socialist Party, into an agency for Hitler.

Debs would be with the Socialist, Communist and non-party workers in Italy, Germany, France, Norway, Belgium, Holland. He would be with the people of Yugoslavia and Greece. He would be with the masses of China. He would greet the second front in Europe, longing for the day when the Red Army soldiers on the east and American and British armies on the west would crowd in on Hitler and clasp hands over his dead body in Berlin. That is what Gene Debs would do—and that is what the Communists are doing.

Thomas proclaims that his is a "revolutionary" party. He wants a "Socialist peace," seeking with his demagogy to deflect the people from the main task facing all sections of the population, all classes and groups in all the freedom-loving countries in this war—to smash Hitler and Hitlerism. The issue is not socialism or communism versus fascism. The issue is freedom, independence and democracy versus fascism. Who in Thomas's mind could, better than Hitler, inveigle the workers with his "National-Socialism," Mussolini and Laval with their "anti-capitalism," and Norman Thomas with his "revolutionism"?

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Thus, in *The Call* of April 18, we read:

"What America needs to win the war is a revolution—a peaceful revolution to be sure. . . ."

It sounds very revolutionary, echoing the "revolution" of Hitler.

Thus it is the function of Thomas and the Socialist Party, in opposing this people's war, to appear as revolutionary leaders, to obstruct the war effort, to carry on the work for Hitler and to promise a "democratic and Socialist peace," through a "peaceful revolution."

This is nothing but downright fifth column activity—activity that must be stifled, as Vice-President Wallace stated. Let us not forget what Stalin told us, namely, that it may require 10,000 workers to build a bridge, but one can destroy it.

It is the task of Thomas to destroy the bridge. In face of the growing sentiment for the second front, in the second summer on the Soviet front, with the Red Army on the offensive, and with the rising revolts in Western Europe, the job of Thomas among the workers and middle-class people is that of all defeatists, fifth columnists and fascist agents in our country: to prevent the growing unity of the nation, to hinder the collaboration of the military, political and economic forces of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain, leading the United Nations for a mortal blow against Hitler Germany.

We can well agree with the Argentine Socialist Party, which, according to *The Call* of April 11, put forth in its program:

"The defense of the Americas, both of their territorial integrity and of the democratic institutions, cooperating frankly with other countries on the continent and *suppressing all activity which might tend to destroy their liberty or which are at the service of foreign aggressors.*" (Emphasis mine—I. A.)

Norman Thomas, fifth columnist and spearhead of fascism, still has access to the radio and spews forth his traitorous program. It is a distinct disservice to our country to allow this worker for fascism to use the air in order to spread disunity and hatred for our allies.

Let us not allow ourselves a repetition of the fate of France, where the fascists were permitted to carry on their work. Let us rather adopt the methods of the Soviet Union. There is no fifth column in the Soviet Union. Wreckers and disrupters are dealt with firmly. The Soviet Union is fighting a war for its very life, as is the United States—in the same war. It is *not* of the essence of democracy to allow the enemies of our country, who are enemies of democracy and freedom, to carry on their insidious work. Just as the government has increasingly proceeded against Nazi, Italian and Japanese spies, and now against Deatherage, Pelley, Coughlin, etc., so too must it proceed against such people as Fish, Nye, Reynolds, Norman Thomas, and the whole fifth column, who are downright workers for fascism.

No hesitation! Full steam ahead to the destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism and his agents and tools in our midst!

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CANADA VOTES FOR TOTAL WAR

BY STANLEY B. RYERSON

BY AN almost two to one vote in the national plebiscite of April 27 last the Canadian people released the Mackenzie King Government from its commitment limiting conscription to home defense, and voiced their insistent demand for a rapid acceleration of the country's military effort in the war against Axis tyranny.*

The result of the plebiscite testifies to the strong and growing desire for offensive action *now,* which animates the great majority of Canadians. The people of Canada, by rejecting the limitation on an all-out effort, voted for total war, for the formation of a mass army in the shortest space of time for offensive action overseas, for an *offensive to smash Hitler in 1942.*

At the same time, the strongly negative vote in French Canada constitutes a problem which government policy and the nation as a whole must meet and solve if the full weight of Canada is to be thrown into the battle for freedom. Over 75 per cent of the voters outside Quebec voted "Yes," in favor of all-out war, as did 80 per cent of the men in the armed services. This resounding majority vote is a mandate for action by the government, action imperatively demanded by the supreme interests of the country as a whole, Quebec included.

Before dealing with the problems raised in the plebiscite campaign, and the tasks which the country now faces, it will be well to review briefly the circumstances which led to the plebiscite.

Toward Total War

Following the historic turning point of June 22, 1941, profound changes took place in the attitude of large masses of Canadians toward the war, and in the alignment of forces in the country. The program of "limited war participation" with which the King Government had secured re-election in March, 1940, answered neither the requirements of a war for national survival nor the overwhelming desire of the majority of Canadians for all-out war for the destruction of Hitlerism. An expressive indication of popular

* Following is the Canadian Press compilation of the vote, as of May 5 (798 polls unreported, out of a total of 31,385): Yes-vote percentages in parentheses:

Armed Services (80)	251,118	60,885
Prince Edward Island (83)	23,568	4,860
Nova Scotia (77)	120,763	35,840
New Brunswick (70)	105,629	45,743
Quebec (28)	375,650	971,925
Ontario (84)	1,201,953	229,847
Manitoba (80)	218,093	53,651
Saskatchewan (73)	183,617	67,654
Alberta (71)	186,624	75,880
British Columbia (80)	253,344	62,033
Yukon (74)	847	291
TOTAL (64)	2,921,206	1,608,609

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sentiment, inspired by the magnificent resistance of our great Soviet ally, was the increase in volunteer enlistments in the new stage of the war: in the eight months from June, 1941, to February, 1942, the effectives of the armed forces were increased by more than 66 per cent through voluntary enlistment, at an average of some 20,000 volunteers a month.

In response to the urgency of the new, critical war situation, and to the rising popular demand for total war, the King Government—albeit slowly and hesitantly—moved in the direction of strengthening and intensifying the country's war effort. The results to date have been considerable. They were summed up in the following terms by Tim Buck, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, in his report to a recent national conference of the party—a conference held under the conditions of illegality which still obtain here:

"Canada's contribution to the Allied cause to date has been substantial and is still growing. Four hundred thousand Canadians have volunteered for service anywhere. A hundred and fifty thousand of them have gone overseas—to the islands of the Atlantic, Britain and the Far East. There are 100,000 men in Canada's air force and the Commonwealth Air Training Scheme is one of the cornerstones of Allied air strength. Canadian airmen, along with British and Anzac fliers, share with their Soviet comrades the work of harrying the Nazi forces on the Eastern front.

"The people of Canada are proud of our country's achievements. They hailed Mackenzie King's London pledge that 'Canada will leave nothing undone that is necessary to ensure victory,' and they welcomed the pledge of Defense Minister Ralston that 'This government is pledged to carry through an all-out war effort.' The people are accepting the necessary burdens of the war with quiet realization that all of us must sacrifice to ensure victory; indeed, the main complaint heard is that the government is not yet prosecuting the war in a sufficiently vigorous way. There is a rising demand from all parts of the country and all sections of Canada's people for the King Government to step up all phases of Canada's activity in connection with the war." *(Organize Canada for Total War,* p. 11.)

The primary task in the intensification of the national war effort was in the military sphere. The program of limited action overseas with forces raised by voluntary enlistment, combined with territorial home defense by forces raised through compulsory service, had to give way to a program based on the needs of offensive action overseas, in the decisive European theater of war. Such a change in the military program would require the abrogation of Section 3 of the National Resources Mobilization Act, passed in May, 1940, which limited compulsory military service to the field of home defense.

The government's military program for 1942 calls for a voluntary increase of close to 200,000 men for all of the armed forces. With about half of this number going to the Air Force and the Navy, the actual increase in the Active Army, allowing for replacements, would amount

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only to about 25,000 men. (Report of Defense Minister Ralston, House of Commons, Feb. 10.) Clearly, this program falls short of the needs of an offensive war policy. The Canadian Army Corps in Britain, composed to a high degree of armored and motorized striking forces—"a dagger pointed at the heart of Germany," in the words of the offensive-minded Canadian commander, Lt. Gen. McNaughton—needs to be not merely reinforced, but at least tripled in strength: something which the country is quite able to achieve. In the words of Tim Buck:

"Enough authoritative information has been published to prove that Canada has adequate manpower resources to maintain 500,000 men overseas. The problem is to mobilize the available men without disrupting the essential industries and services upon which the efficiency and striking power of the fighting forces depend.

". . . In view of the fact that Canada is waging war for her very national existence, the Communist Party declares unequivocally that the time has arrived when our country should introduce unrestricted compulsory military service.

"To utilize our manpower resources in the most democratic manner our country must have universal military service with the obligation to serve wherever the defense of Canada and the interests of the war against fascist slavery demand. . . ."*

In the statement of policy submitted to Parliament by the government at the beginning of this year "a total national effort" was pledged, and announcement was made of a national plebiscite, in which the electors would be asked:

"Are you in favor of releasing the government from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service?"

The Plebiscite Campaign

The decision of the government to hold the plebiscite reflected the pressure of the mass popular demand for total war; but it expressed at the same time the unwillingness of the government to give a clear, emphatic lead in the required direction. The amendment of the Mobilization Act could have been submitted to Parliament and adopted after democratic debate, and the decision would undoubtedly have had the support of the country.

Once the plebiscite measure was decided upon, however, vigorous and clear-cut leadership was required. This leadership was not given to any serious degree. Instead of stating clearly that full conscription was an essential democratic measure for the waging of offensive warfare in Canada's behalf, and that a "Yes" vote would be followed by its enactment, Mr. King and his colleagues maintained almost till the very eve of the plebiscite an ambiguous kind of "neutrality." The French-Canadians, among whom an energetic campaign was indispensable, in view of their traditional association of "conscription" with the experiences of imperialist war and national oppression, were told that conscription would *not* follow an affirmative vote, that the government needed

* *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

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simply to be free to judge what measures might be necessary, etc. This kind of equivocation could not but be fatal in Quebec, taken in conjunction with the complete tolerance accorded the corporatist-fascists, who were able to spread their nefarious propaganda without the slightest hindrance.

While the government authorized the formation of popular committees to mobilize an affirmative vote, and called for such a vote, its hesitations and ambiguities were such that in the last resort the achieving of a positive result depended on popular initiative and organization. Wherever local authorities and the people's organizations carried on an energetic campaign for a united affirmative vote, the result was thoroughly satisfactory, as in Toronto, where 92 per cent voted "Yes." Where this initiative was lacking, or worse, where the field was surrendered in advance to the people's enemies, as in Quebec, the result was correspondingly bad. That even Quebec could have been won for an affirmative vote, given a correct line of action on the part of the government, is plain from the example of Montreal, where the almost 50 per cent affirmative vote—compared with 16 per cent for the rest of the province—resulted in considerable part from the lead given by organized labor and the intensive campaign carried on by the Communist Party.

In English-speaking Canada the overwhelmingly affirmative vote was a demonstration of the degree of anti-Hitler unity achieved among all classes of the population.

The Communist Party, though working in conditions of illegality, nonetheless succeeded in making a considerable contribution to the strength of the national unity. Campaigning under the slogans: "Vote Yes!" and "Make the Plebiscite a Demonstration of National Unity for Total War!" the party was able to mobilize and cement the unity of important sections of the people. Public expression for the broad left-wing movement was achieved by organizations such as the "Tim Buck Plebiscite Committees," by conferences and other forms of organized leadership. Widespread mass meetings were held; in Toronto alone 50,000 copies of an appeal by Tim Buck were distributed, and much larger quantities of it in the country as a whole; nearly 250,000 pieces of literature were issued in the French language in Montreal and its environs. At a broadly representative conference held in Ottawa under the auspices of the National Committee for Democratic Rights, a popular appeal was issued in support of an affirmative vote in the plebiscite, while the demand for the release of the interned anti-fascists and for the restoration of legality to the Communist Party was raised in its true light, as a measure which would strengthen national unity and contribute directly to the achievement of a maximum war effort.

The positive, constructive role of the Communists in the plebiscite campaign won widespread recognition, one example of which was the estimate of the conservative Montreal *Gazette*, to the effect that the

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only really serious, organized campaign for a "Yes" vote was that being conducted by the Communist Party.

The part played by our party in helping to mobilize an affirmative majority consisted primarily in the struggle to bring about a maximum of effective, genuine national unity on the issues involved, for the most effective prosecution of the war against Hitler and Hitlerism. The upsurge of popular initiative, called forth by the urgency of the situation confronting the country, pressed insistently in the direction of such unity. The realization of unity involved the overcoming of "politics as usual"—a tendency which manifested itself among certain Tory elements, centering around Arthur Meighen, Conservative leader, and Premier Mitchell Hepburn of Ontario, in the form of attempts to utilize the conscription issue in order to discredit the King Government and enhance their own political strength; this same tendency was manifest, on the other hand, in the government's own vacillations and attempts to win Québec support through appeals to Liberal Party allegiance instead of through a forthright facing of the issues; and, finally, in the tendency of certain leading elements in the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation to confuse the issues by demanding "conscription of wealth" as a precondition for support of conscription of manpower.

As the result showed, national unity triumphed over all such partisan hindrances, throughout English-speaking Canada.

French Canada and the Plebiscite

The development of the greatest possible degree of unity of English and French-speaking Canadians is essential for the unleashing of the full power of Canada's not inconsiderable military potential and of its great war-industrial resources. The plebiscite has thrust this question to the forefront of the war problems: its solution is a major responsibility, not of the government alone, but of labor and all the democratic forces in Canada.

Traditionally, the question of conscription in Canada has been inseparably interwoven with two major problems of the country's historical development: the transition from the status of a British colony to that of an autonomous Dominion; and the struggle for the establishment of full national equality for French Canada. At the time of the British wars in the Soudan in 1882, in South Africa in 1899, of the war of 1914-18 and again in 1939-40, national opposition to imperialism assumed its clearest and sharpest form in the resistance to conscription for overseas service. This was particularly the case in French Canada, where the attainment of a large degree of formal political equality has been accompanied by the persistence of grave economic, social and cultural inequality as compared with English-speaking Canada.

Today, however, the people's war for national survival, for the defense of Canadian nationhood and French-Canadian liberty against fascist enslavement, gives to the

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problem of military service a wholly new significance. For the first time in her history, Canada—government and people—is engaged in a truly national war. In this situation of supreme national crisis, universal compulsory military service, far from representing a "concession" or a "sacrifice," is an urgently necessary democratic measure for the saving of our country's imperiled existence.

The result of the plebiscite demonstrates that this truth has yet to be brought to the French-Canadian masses, and patiently and convincingly explained to them.

In Quebec, 72 per cent of the voters opposed releasing the government from its anti-conscription pledges. If the difficulty which this result presents is to be overcome, it is important that its true significance be understood. It would be a mistake to imagine that this was predominantly an anti-war vote. The great majority of French-Canadians are ardently concerned with Canada's security, and desire the defeat of Hitler.

The people of French Canada possess a rich tradition of democratic, anti-imperialist struggle. That this proud heritage, given clear, fearless leadership, can contribute immensely to the battles against Hitlerism, is being proven in the Canadian army, in which the voluntary recruitment from Quebec is already *eleven times greater* than in the war of 1914-18, and in the factories, where thousands are exerting all their strength to equip the fighting forces.

Despite the fact that nowhere else in Canada has anti-Sovietism been spread with such assiduous intensity, the real and widespread anti-Hitler sentiment is being deepened and vitalized by growing admiration for the magnificent feats of arms of the Soviet Union. Particularly is this true in the French-Canadian working class areas; it is evidenced also by its reflection in the press, as when the influential liberal weekly, *Le Jour*, carries regular articles lauding the Soviet resistance, and in letters such as that published in *Le Canada* by the prominent liberal, Emile Vaillancourt, urging full diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R.

How then, is the vote in Quebec — which in many of the rural areas was over 90 per cent negative—to be explained? The following factors appear to have been decisive:

(a) "Defensist" illusions about the possibility of defending the country on Canadian soil alone—illusions rooted in isolationist distrust of Britain and memories of past anti-imperialist struggles;

(b) The exploiting, carried out with impunity by fascist Quisling elements, of isolationism and of the national sentiments and aspirations of the French-Canadian masses;

(c) The vacillating, equivocal stand of the federal and Quebec governments in relation to the issues of the plebiscite;

(d) The "neutrality" of the Catholic Church leadership to the issue, which actually assisted the pro-Vichy clerical corporatists;

(e) The weakness and lack of unity of the labor movement, particularly outside of Montreal.

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With regard to "defensism," Emery Samuel, Secretary of the Communist Party in Quebec, points out:

"The masses of French-Canadian people, influenced by their historic opposition to British imperialism, suffering under the economic discrimination of the trusts against them, have not yet found the correct direction in the struggle for national unity and the security of Canada through victory over Hitler. They are in favor of conscription for home defense, and for continental defense, but in their majority do not yet recognize that to really defend our homeland we Canadians must be ready to send our armed forces overseas to fight and defeat the fascist foe on those battlefields where the result of the war and Canada's destiny are being and will be decided." *(On Guard, Canadians!* p. 28.)

To dispel the deep-rooted illusions of isolationist "defensism" required that the government, with the fullest support of the labor-progressive movement in the country as a whole, develop a most vigorous campaign of clarification of the issues involved in the war and of the measures required in Canada's defense. The government chose instead to remain "neutral," and leave the field open to spurious "nationalists," who cloaked their secret sympathy with the fascist enemy with "concern" for the national aspirations of French Canada.

These Quisling elements, who were able to play on the grievances of the French-Canadians — grievances which stem from the special conditions of economic discrimination and social and cultural impoverishment that weigh upon this nation of 3,500,000—operated with complete impunity. Yet they counted among their number open advocates of corporatist fascism, elements go that two members of whose past connections with the espionage agencies of Mussolini are a matter of public knowledge. So far did the "appeasement" of these elements go, that two members of the Quebec Liberal government, political associates of these so-called "nationalists," actually addressed meetings on the eve of the plebiscite, in favor of a negative vote. The leadership of the Catholic Church, which on previous occasions had spoken out clearly in support of the war against Hitlerism, refrained from taking a position in regard to the issue of the plebiscite, and allowed certain clerical elements—especially the pro-Vichy group around the Montreal newspaper *Le Devoir*—to carry on frenzied anti-conscription agitation.

Under these circumstances, it was left to the labor movement to carry the whole burden of winning the Quebec people for the policy of all-out war. The relatively strong affirmative vote in Montreal, to which reference has been made, bears witness to the efforts that were made; but the result in French Canada as a whole is the measure of the political weakness and disunity of labor in the rest of the province, and of the distance still to be covered if full and effective national unity is to be achieved. The holding of a highly successful Joint War Labor Victory Conference in Montreal on May 7, at which or-

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ganized labor put forward a program of extending "every possible assistance to industry and government for the crowning of our country's battle for production with complete success," indicates that the working class is advancing on the correct path in Quebec; what is needed, here as in Canada generally, is a still broader and deeper grasp of the responsibilities of active political leadership on the part of the labor movement, as an essential component of the fight for victory in the war.

The Communist Party carried on a most energetic campaign in Quebec, despite its small membership in that province, and the heavy restriction of illegality.

Its position on the question of French Canada, significant for the tasks ahead as for the campaign that has ended, is stated thus by Tim Buck:

"The Communist Party supports and defends the national aspirations of the French-Canadian people. Because Communists have always consistently supported those champions of Quebec who take their stand clearly upon the proud traditions of French Canada, the Communist Party now appeals to those champions of French Canada who have hitherto taken a negative attitude toward Canada's participation in the war. We appeal to them, earnestly, to study the profound change that has taken place in its character, and in the decisive issues being fought out, and to review their own policies in the light of this change. The Communist Party recognizes the deep and widespread opposition to conscription among French-Canadian people and respects their anti-imperialist sentiments from which this opposition springs. But the changes wrought in the war have changed the tasks and the responsibilities of those who aim primarily to protect the particular interests of French Canada or of Quebec and the immediate and future interests of the French-Canadian people. Canada is not engaged in an imperialist war today, but a war for national survival—a war of liberation. In the struggle against Hitler today the fundamental interests of French Canada coincide with the interests of the entire anti-Hitler alliance. . . . .

"The central slogan of the Communist Party in Quebec is *Defend Canada and the Rights of French Canada by National Unity to Win the War.*" *

The Immediate Tasks

Following the plebiscite the King Government presented to Parliament an amendment to the National Resources Mobilization Act which would make possible the conscription of men for the Active Army for service anywhere. It is imperative that the removal of the legal impediment to all-out effort be followed by actual measures to translate into practice the mandate for total war voted by the people.

Already, the result of the plebiscite in Quebec its creating a situation requiring courageous statesmanship. Should the government persist in its past policy of trying to harmonize the demand of the majority of Canadians for total war on the one hand, and conciliation of certain outspokenly pro-fascist elements on the other, grievous harm

* *Cited pamphlet,* pp. 48-50.

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will be done both to national unity and the war effort which is its highest expression and decisive achievement.

Delay, temporizing, equivocation will be fatal. Nor does the solution lie in the direction of the policies advocated by the Meighen-Hepburn clique, whose vocal support of "total war" masks a program of anti-democratic labor-baiting chauvinist hatred of French Canada, and anti-Sovietism.

The solution lies in the adoption by the King Government, with the fullest support and assistance from the labor and progressive movements, of a strong, positive policy aimed at bringing Quebec fully into the national unity. This means the all-out mobilization of all the genuinely liberal, democratic and labor elements in Quebec for the carrying through of a mass campaign of clarification of the issues of the war and the means to victory.

It means replacing isolationist elements within the governments at Ottawa and Quebec by loyal adherents of the King Government's orientation toward total war, in order to strengthen the war leadership. It means jailing the pro-Axis Quislings, who mislead and betray the French-Canadian people.

It means the adoption of practical measures on behalf of French Canada, which will help to convince her people of the truly national character of the war, and of the meaning of anti-Hitler national unity: measures such as the creation of French-Canadian divisions of the Canadian army, officered by French-Canadians, with full recognition of the French language in all services and adequate French-Canadian representation in the military leadership and in industry, the raising of sub-standard wage levels which in many areas of Quebec act as a drag on all-out production.

The solution lies in a vigorous implementation of the government's war program; in strengthening labor's political initiative and activities and in welding more firmly the anti-fascist national front to make Canada a more powerful force for offensive action in Europe against Hitler *now*, in closest cooperation with our British, American, Soviet and other allies. It lies in the carrying into effect of Mr. King's recent promise to draw labor into official and effective partnership in the direction of the war effort; in involving the people more actively and fully in the war program, including release of anti-fascists still in internment camps, and restoration of legality to the Communist Party.

By adopting such a course, the King Government will further strengthen and cement the national unity of Canada, and enable our country to do its full share in the struggle for the speediest destruction of the fascist Axis. Our party, which has pledged and is giving the utmost of its strength and lifeblood to the cause of victory over fascist tyranny, will give unhesitating support to every step which brings Canada closer to the goal of unlimited, total, offensive war, for the defeat of our country's and humanity's enemies, for the smashing of Hitler in 1942.

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FRANCE WILL RISE AGAIN

BY RALPH V. BARNES

IT IS two years since the defeatist attitudes of the ruling circles of the French bourgeoisie and the treachery of its fifth column have delivered France into the bloody hands of Hitler fascism. These were years of unprecedented tragedy for the French people and nation. Two years of unspeakable suffering and humiliation. Years of "collaboration" between Hitler and his Pétains, Darlans and Lavals. But the French people will not remain fascist slaves. They have already begun the fight for the liberation of France. And France will rise again.

* * *

France was defeated in thirty-seven days. During this astonishingly short space of time the French army was routed and the French government sued for an armistice. This was concluded on June 22, 1940, sealing the surrrender to Hitler, leaving half of France, including Paris, under German occupation, for the maintenance of which the French people have to pay, while the rest of France is being ruled by traitors and Nazi agents.

How did this tragedy come about? What was it that produced such a collapse? Had not the French army been regarded as the best in Europe?

Several factors have combined to produce the rapid defeat of France; factors of a political, social and military character. And chief of these was the fear of the French ruling circles of their own people, a fear which had hardened into treason long before the hour of resistance to Nazi invasion. Here was the main source of France's collapse.

The noted French journalist Pertinax speaks about the conservative classes "long living in fear of popular fronts" *(New York Times,* April 26). This is true only in one sense. It is true in the sense that the ruling circles of the French bourgeoisie were long living in fear of democracy, of their own people. They hated democracy and the masses of the French nation. And they were actively plotting and conspiring with Hitler and Mussolini to destroy the democracy of France and to deliver the French people to the fascist aggressors and conquerors.

It was the clique of Pétain, Laval and Darlan, following in the footsteps of the Versailles traitors who betrayed France to the Prussians in 1871, that prepared and carried

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through the defeat, capitulation and enslavement of France. And behind this gang of fascist and pro-fascist traitors stood the pro-fascist circles of French big capital, the profiteers and ultra-reactionaries, directing, encouraging and supporting the vile conspiracy that resulted in the defeat of France and the enslavement of its people by German fascism.

This conspiracy, it will be recalled, dates back to the years which led up to the Munich betrayal. It engaged in several lines of activity, but these can be grouped roughly into two main categories. One was the isolation of France from its allies and supporters among other nations. The other was the internal demoralization of France itself, the undermining of French national unity against German fascism, the hamstringing and persecution of the working class and all the other anti-fascist forces of the French nation. It was along these two main lines that the Pétain-Laval-Darlan gang, aided by such Nazi agents as Doriot, Deat and others, prepared and organized the defeat and enslavement of France.

Consider first the series of treasonable acts by this pro-fascist gang which resulted in the external isolation of France. This can be said to have begun in earnest with the betrayal of Ethiopia. It was followed by the most shameful and criminal betrayal of Spain, followed by the sellout of Albania, Austria and Czechoslovakia. These were political and strategic fortresses of France's own defense against the fascist aggressors. These were France's allies and supporters against the imminent threat of attack by German and Italian fascism. And so the matter was understood by the consistent anti-fascist forces of the French people, by its true and genuine patriots, foremost among them the French Communists, who had warned France not to allow the pro-fascist gang to betray the allies of France. But the traitors had their way. The hesitations and inconsistencies and waverings in the democratic and patriotic camp of the French nation, as exhibited repeatedly in the policies of Blum and Daladier, prevented the people from asserting their full and united power to defeat and suppress the pro-fascist conspirators. And to do so before it was too late. The result is well known. The political and military isolation of France on the continent of Europe became a fact.

Most decisive in bringing about this isolation was the treacherous work of the Pétain-Laval-Darlan clique to undermine and sabotage France's alliance with the Soviet Union. Instead of developing and strengthening this alliance as one of the decisive bulwarks for the defense of France from fascist aggression, the pro-fascist gangsters made this alliance meaningless and impotent, inciting mistrust of and hatred against the Soviet Union and isolating France from it. The ruling circles of the French bourgeoisie treated all too lightly the role and importance of the Soviet Union in European affairs. The result is well known. France's political and military isolation on the continent of Europe was made complete. Here, too, the pro-fascist traitors had

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their way, and primarily because the hesitations and inconsistencies of certain important elements in the national camp had a paralyzing effect upon the combativeness and unity of the French nation.

Hand in hand with bringing about the external isolation of France went the second line of pro-fascist activity—to bring about France's internal demoralization. We shall list here some of the most outstanding manifestations of these "internal" treasonable actions.

The pro-fascist clique sought by every means at its disposal to undermine France's resistance to Hitler and Hitlerism. They organized and supported the Cagoulards and other armed fascist gangs to foment civil war at the behest of Hitler and on the eve of a German invasion. They incited and carried through special persecutions against the workers of France, against their trade unions, against the Communists, against all genuine patriots and anti-fascists. Fearing anti-Hitler national unity—the prime internal requisite to successful resistance against Hitler—the pro-fascist clique was inciting acts of terrorism against the democratic forces and organizations of the people in order to prevent the crystallization of a united national front for the defense of France and its democratic liberties.

They sabotaged war production. They closed down factories and locked out workers that were producing motors, aircraft, tanks, thus slowing down production and delivery of armaments, demoralizing the workers and hampering their organization. And who did that? The dominant section of big capitalists of France, the profiteers and friends of fascism.

Daladier himself confirmed this fact at the so-called trial of Riom. He named, among others, the Schneider-Creusot steel trust and he charged its managers with the crime of sabotaging war production (*New York Times*, March 4). He charged further "that officers of the company turned down his personal request to form a joint government-private industry combination to manufacture armaments in North Africa" (*Ibid.*). Daladier also named the big French manufacturer Edgar Brandt, charging him with refusing the same proposition and accusing him additionally of "direct sabotage by stealing factory blueprints that delayed production of mortars until the plants were recovered" (*Ibid.*).

The same pro-fascist clique—Pétain, Laval, Darlan—kept the army deliberately in a weak state of poor preparation, organization and leadership. For fully eight months of the so-called phony war, Pétain and his traitorous generals totally ignored the military lessons of the Polish campaign and failed to train the French army in the new methods and tactics of warfare against the fascist aggressors. They kept large stores of military equipment (tanks, planes, artillery) behind the lines when the French soldiers were in great need of such equipment at the front, surrendering later these stores of armaments to Hitler.

At the most crucial moments of the war, when France's life was at

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stake, Pétain and his pro-fascist generals made no attempt to inspire the army with leadership and brave resistance but, instead, forced the government to capitulate and surrender. While the Communists and militant workers mobilized to defend Paris, Pétain and his pro-fascist generals gave up Paris without a fight, deliberately aiming to break the back of France's struggle. They surrendered the French nation into the hands of Hitler's bandits against the wish of the French people and of the French Army.

And then the armistice and its terms. By this unprecedented act of treason, the gang of Pétain-Laval-Darlan, with the pro-fascist generals and corrupt politicians, surrendered to Hitler France's economic resources, her industry, wealth and her labor power. In this fashion German fascism was enabled not only to enslave the French people and to destroy France's national economy but to secure additional resources for waging war against the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States. Hitler was enabled by this gang of traitors to forge further the chains of France's own slavery. Moreover, the Pétain-Laval-Darlan clique was deliberately seeking to transform France into an appendage to Hitler imperialism, to the bankers and plutocrats of Germany.

For two years, long and bitter years for the French people, Pétain and Co. were abetting and condoning every act of plunder, humiliation, violence and hunger imposed upon the French nation by the fascist bandits. This is called "collaboration." Hundreds and thousands of French patriots were put to death by Nazi firing squads—and this continues day in and day out—in the process of this "collaboration." They put to death such loyal sons of the French nation as Sampaix, Gabriel Peri and Semard, brave anti-fascists and leaders of the working class, heroic leaders of the Communist Party of France, which always stood with the French people and in its front ranks in defense of France's independence, liberty and progress.

Very revealing was the behavior of this gang in the months that marked the beginning of the turning of the tide in the war against Hitler and Hitlerism. When the German fascist hordes were beginning to suffer catastrophic blows at the hands of the Red Army, and when the British were striking out at the fascists in Libya, and when the United States was daily increasing its military participation in the war, all of which began to open the long-awaited opportunity for France to initiate an active struggle for its liberation—at that moment, of all others, the Pétain-Laval-Darlan clique saw fit to *intensify* its "collaboration" with Hitler, placing men, money, warships and naval bases at the disposal of the executioners of the French people.

Thus was the betrayal of France organized and carried through by the Laval-Pétain-Darlan gang, supported and directed by the pro-fascist big capitalists and profiteers. Thus are the chains of France's slavery being forged day by day in

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the process of "collaboration." Thus has the way been paved for Laval's "comeback"—the dirtiest and most criminal of all the pro-fascist conspirators—and for new and more desperate efforts to keep France chained to Hitler.

But France will rise, as rise she must. For the other side of the picture is the growing awakening of the French people, their increasing struggles for liberation, inspired and made possible by the glorious achievements of the Red Army and by the growing strength of the United Nations. The comeback of Laval is a design not of strength and confidence in the camp of German fascism and its French Quislings but of increasing weakness and growing desperation.

* * *

Laval's return to power, which was prepared by Pétain, carries new and serious dangers for the people of France and for all the United Nations. It signifies more hunger, starvation, misery, terror and humiliation for the French people. It presages an attempt by Hitler and his agents to use more fully and openly the territory, wealth, manpower and military resources of France to bolster up the war machine of German fascism. An attempt will be made to use enslaved France more freely and recklessly to promote Hitler's war against the United Nations. This is what Laval is called upon to undertake.

It is evident that this is a desperate course. To this course German fascism and his French agents have been driven, first of all, by the realization that the French people refuse to remain Hitler's slaves. Not only have the French people not been "won over" to the rule of the fascist conqueror but they have not been intimidated either, despite all the brutal terror and oppression. The spirit of the French nation has not been broken. The struggle against the fascist executioners and bandits is gainging strength every day, stimulated and enhanced by the formation of an anti-Hitler national front. Already the outline is becoming visible of the maturing war of national liberation by the French people.

The paralysis which seemed to have seized the French people in the first months of the defeat and surrender of France is now a thing of the past. In the two years that have gone by, the French people and its working class, foremost fighters of their nation, have been developing greater and ever greater resistance to Hitler fascism and its French Quislings. This resistance is now approaching a new and higher stage.

It is well known that the first marked turn in the moods and actions of the French people—the turn to confidence and struggle—occurred soon after Hitler's treacherous attack upon the Soviet Union. All reports agree that the historic resistance of the Red Army to the Nazi assault in the summer of 1941 has had the effect of inspiring the French people with hope and confidence, moving them to unity, resistance and struggle. Workers, shopkeepers, women, intellectuals and all true

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patriots began to engage in acts of sabotage against the fascist invader, developing various forms of resistance and even open demonstrations.

The terror and assassinations with which Hitler and the Pétain gang met this resistance did not and could not stop the process. It continued to grow. And this became particularly evident with the beginning of the great counter-offensive of the Red Army in December of last year and with the entry of the United States into the war against the Axis as a belligerent. The French people have seen demonstrated on the Soviet-German front that the story of Nazi invincibility is nothing but a myth; that the Nazi hordes can be beaten. The French people have also seen that the freedom-loving peoples of the world are all uniting for the common cause of destroying the Hitler fascist menace; that a united world front against the fascist aggressor is coming into existence, headed by such powerful nations as the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain. In consequence, the French people took new courage in the struggle to achieve national unity against Hitler and his French agents, to promote more intensively the mobilization of all patriotic sections of the French nation and the preparation for the great battles which will liberate France. And in this the workers of France have played and are playing a significant and decisive part.

Unquestionably they will fulfill the great proletarian and national duties facing them at the present time, disrupting war production and the transport of military supplies for the Hitler war machine, destroying all equipment that is of use to the invaders, organizing powerful strike movements against the fascist enslavers of France and offering armed resistance to the fascist enemy. Reliable reports indicate that already a guerrilla movement is arising in France, particularly in the Seine and Loire Departments and that it is receiving the support of the local population.

These are the tasks and duties now facing the workers and peoples of the Nazi-occupied countries, and France is one of the most important of them. These tasks, and the special responsibilities of the working class, arise inevitably from the present world situation and from the course of the war. They arise from the fact that the interests of all nations demand imperatively that Hitler be destroyed in 1942 and that this can be done by a united and combined attack of all freedom-loving peoples. That is why an end must be put to passivity and hesitation. The hour for action has struck: joint action by the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union; action by the enslaved peoples of the Nazi-occupied countries; action by the peoples of Hitler's vassal states; action by the working class and the people of Germany. This means united and simultaneous action by all freedom-loving peoples to make 1942 the year of the debacle of Hitlerism; to smash the weakened front of fascist tyranny this year and to achieve the victory of the freedom-loving peoples in 1942.

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In the midst of this general world situation Hitler brought Laval back into prominence in the Vichy Government. It was at a juncture in the course of the war when the following facts assumed decisive importance. The German army is now weaker than it was at the time of the Nazi assault upon the Soviet Union, while the home front has grown less secure for the fascists. In the Nazi-occupied territories, the struggle of the peoples against the Hitlerites is beginning to assume a general character. This means that Hitler's European rear has become less secure and more dangerous for the fascists; and France plays a decisive part in Hitler's European rear.

Furthermore, the Soviet Union has become stronger than it was before the war. It has become stronger in the unity of its peoples, in the unity between the front and rear, in the fighting capacities of its Red Army. All freedom-loving peoples are inspired and strengthened by the magnificent struggle of the Soviet Union against the fascist beasts, by the historic counter-offensive of the Red Army, which is holding the initiative in the fight, creating the possibility for victory in 1942. At the same time, the ties of friendship and solidarity between the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain are strong and growing stronger. The world front of the United Nations is becoming more powerful day by day. And the call for destroying Hitler in 1942, for striking now, through the opening of a second land front in Europe, is spreading widely and gaining increasing support.

To launch a new offensive on the Soviet front, under these circumstances, Hitler is compelled, among many other things, to pay serious attention to his European rear. And that means to pay serious attention also to France, if not primarily to France. He could hardly be expected to throw the German army into decisive battles with the Red Army now without trying desperately to insure his rear in France as well as in the rest of Europe. Hence the so-called reorganization of the Vichy Government and the coming back of Laval.

From the foregoing it is easily possible to anticipate the main features of Laval's course and actions. These will be, first, the unfoldment of a more systematic and brutal offensive upon the French people, upon all French patriots, upon every attempt to promote the liberation of France. These will be, secondly, a more ruthless squeezing out of all the material and human resources of France for the feeding of the Nazi war machine. And finally, Laval's course will be directed toward placing more openly and fully the territories and military (and naval) resources of France for various forms of warfare against the United Nations. This is what Hitler desperately needs. This is what Laval will try to do. In fact, he has already begun to do it.

* * *

Clearly, this presents the United Nations, and our own country in

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the first place, with a number of serious problems and tasks. What must we do, and do quickly, to give effective support to the growing struggle of the French people for national liberation? What must we do, and do quickly, to prevent or to counter Laval's undoubted designs to use French territories, possessions, bases, naval and military forces to assist the Axis war against us and the other United Nations? Evidently, these are important questions arising for us in all parts of the world (Europe, Asia, Africa, the Western Hemisphere), as a result of Laval's comeback.

If we bring rapid and effective aid to the French people *in France* for the further promotion of their struggle against the Nazi invaders, through armed mass resistance and growing guerrilla warfare, we shall be making it so much harder for Hitler to insure his European rear while he is engaging in decisive struggles with the Red Army on the Soviet front.

On the other hand, how can we contemplate with passivity the realization of Laval's designs to place more fully and openly French territories and resources for bolstering up and feeding the Nazi war machine? Shall we continue to wait and hesitate while Laval is bleeding the French nation white to help prepare and carry out Hitler's planned offensive against the Red Army? The action forestalling Axis seizure of Madagascar, thereby preventing a repetition of what Pétain did when he place Indo-China at the service of the Japanese, is the type of bold initiative and offensive action that is needed where it will affect Hitler most decisively.

Shall the United States and England continue to strike first, and strike hard, to prevent and counter the treacherous designs of Hitler's flunkey?

Shall they go on waiting and waiting, hesitating and vacillating, until Laval has actually placed the French fleet in Hitler's service? Or shall they do something, quickly and effectively, either to forestall or make extremely difficult of realization any such plans of Laval?

We know that the mood of the American people is increasingly for action, for attack, for striking now against the main enemy, Hitler Germany. These moods and opinions have to be translated without delay *into government policy and strategy.* This is how we will get action—action now.

What that action shall be is by now pretty clear. It is the opening of a second front on the continent of Europe—*now.* It is the seizure by the United Nations of all the islands and possessions, now held by Vichy, that are of strategic importance. It is to treat the Laval-Pétain-Darlan gang for what they are: enemies of our country in the service of Hitler. It is to treat the Free French Government as our friend and ally. Nothing short of all this will meet the present situation.

In this connection, we should pay most serious attention to the opinion of the High Commissioner for Free French Africa, General Adolphe Eugene-Marie Sice, given recently in an interview in New York. He said "that a second front must be

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created swiftly, this year and not next, if the Russian army is to be relieved and the peoples of occupied Europe are to be maintained in their hopes of deliverance" (*New York Times,* May 2). To the current suggestion that the United Nations should seize Dakar instead, the General replied: "We will still be a long way from Europe, and it is in Europe that we must establish the second front." *(Ibid.)*

In his radio address to the nation on April 28, President Roosevelt said that the United Nations would take measures to prevent French territory from falling into enemy hands. This may mean many things. But it is important to point out that this is too formal an approach. For one thing, France and a good deal of French territory are already in the hands of the enemy; and Laval's function at this time is precisely to give the enemy full use of French territory and French resources. And this is already being done. And the second thing to point out is that there are measures and measures. Some may be too little and too late. Do we want these? Or do we want measures that will stop Laval in his tracks? Obviously, the latter is what we need and are in a position to adopt. And this means a second front in Europe now.

The question of France is, of course, part of the entire war situation. It has to be approached, therefore, from the standpoint of the central and decisive task confronting the United Nations at the present time, that is, the task of making 1942 the year of final decision against Hitler Germany, of destroying Hitler fascism in 1942, and entering 1943 without Hitler and without Hitler's war.

Let us finally learn to the full some of the lessons of France's tragedy. Why was France's fifth column so successful in organizing and carrying out the defeat and enslavement of that great and freedom-loving nation? The traitorous gang of Pétain-Laval-Darlan and their supporters and backers were only a small minority in France. The overwhelming majority of France was opposed to fascism. They loved France—their country, their land, their nation, their revolutionary traditions—and they hated Hitler with his Quislings. Yet the latter succeeded. Why? *Because of hesitations, waverings and inconsistencies of decisive elements among the French patriots and anti-fascists,* such as the Blums and Daladiers; because these elements wanted to wait, and they waited until it was too late; because they carried on incitements against the working class and the other anti-fascist forces of France, thus weakening France's national unity; because they refused to adopt effective and decisive measures to cleanse France of the fifth column and make it harmless; because the working class and anti-fascist unity of France was not solid enough and consistent enough in its struggles to overcome the hesitations and waverings of the other patriotic forces.

Let us, therefore, make sure that the present hesitations are overcome, that we act, and act in time, to strike at Hitler now, to cement our anti-fascist national unity, and

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labor's leading role in activizing all sections of the people, putting an end to all passivity and hesitations, to all fatal tendencies to wait and flinch from active struggle and decisive offensive action against Hitler now. Let us strike at the fifth column wherever it is found, and stop all anti-labor incitements, enabling labor to develop its full strength and initiative for the persecution and winning of the war. Let us develop with all our might the full striking power of the anti-fascist national front of the United States. Let us work tirelessly to strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity between our nation and the Soviet Union and Great Britain, and with all the United Nations for victory in 1942.

For the accomplishment of these crucial tasks, the American workers and their labor movement have a special responsibility and a special contribution to make. The American workers are the truest sons of our people, the most consistent champions of our liberties and democratic heritage, the backbone of our nation. It is with this consciousness, free from the limitations and prejudices of narrow trade unionism, in consistent opposition to all tendencies of passivity, in uncompromising struggle against all and every manifestation of defeatism (Lewisism, Norman Thomasism, Trotskyism, etc.), it is with the consciousness of being the backbone of our nation that the American workers have to raise their voice more forcefully and develop further their initiative for action now, for crushing Hitler in 1942. Labor can and must, to remain true to its proletarian and national duties, act decisively to put an end to passivity and hesitation in order to enable our country to play its full part in crushing Hitler in 1942.

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A DIARY OF SOVIET COURAGE

BY LOUIS F. BUDENZ

THE mighty drama enacted by the Soviet peoples on the most gigantic battlefront the world has ever seen has had repercussions in every corner of the globe. When *The New York Times*, on May 9, stated editorially in regard to southeastern Europe, "The partisan bands are at work from the Adriatic Sea to the banks of the Dnieper and the gates of Kharkov," it referred to events set on foot by the dynamic offensive of the Red Army. From the fjords of Norway to the Dardanelles—wherever Hitlerite Germany has set its heel of oppression—a new hope and a new fighting spirit have been engendered among the people by the electrifying message from the Soviet front that the Nazi armies are not "invincible."

In Britain and America this demonstration in life of the power and iron will of the Soviet peoples has led to a new understanding of the democratic pulsebeats of the Socialist Republics. Among "the common men and women of England" the offensive spirit of the Red Army has enkindled a warm feeling of the highest admiration. So much is this the case that *Life*, in its issue of April 20, has taken note of this development in the announcement that "Britain falls in love with Russia." Among the American people the discussions in homes and in the shops and the wholehearted applause which greets pictures of the Red Army in the movies are testimony to the deepened appreciation of what the strength and fighting abilities of the Soviet Union have meant to America and the democratic world. This tremendous upsurge of admiration is reflected in the rising demand for a second front in Europe, in the stand taken by more and more trade unions for American labor's participation in the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee, in the zeal for sending supplies to the Soviet front, and in a quickened interest by people of all classes in Russian War Relief.

It is not surprising that this new appreciation of the Soviet Union is beginning to be recorded in the field of reportage and literature. Books of the sub-cellar variety which disgraced the American publishing business in 1939 and 1940, and which in effect aided Hitler's assault upon the Soviet Union and tended to lull the American people to sleep, have been superseded in large part by an increasing number of volumes which have begun to give a glimpse of the realities and accomplishments of Soviet life.

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Not the least of these books is *Moscow War Diary*, written by Alexander Werth and published in the United States by Alfred A. Knopf. This work is of particular note, not so much because of its facility of presentation, for it is encumbered, particularly in its first pages, with a number of trivialities. Nor is the book significant because of any deep political understanding of the rise and triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union, for there is a certain "liberal" innocence on the author's part concerning the whole dynamics of the Socialist Republics. The special interest of Werth's effort arises from the fact that one of his class and political background is moved to pay tribute to the Soviet peoples. The conclusions which come upon him, step by step, are also significant as he grasps the magnificent realities of the Soviet people's confidence and courage and their devotion to the socialist state from which such characteristics spring.

The author comes from "a liberal bourgeois background," as he frankly puts it. The son of a Russian coal mine owner under the tsars, who was a cadet in politics, and of a British mother of the wealthier class, Werth is an alumnus of English universities and has served as a journalist for *The Manchester Guardian* and other British publications. Although he claims that he bears no grudge against the Soviet Union for having converted his paternal mining properties into possessions of the people, the author does approach his Moscow assignment with some blinders imposed by his "liberal" viewpoint.

But as the author gets out into Moscow on a few tram expeditions, he begins to note some of the achievements of the Soviet government and to be struck by the calm confidence of the people. When he sees the wide expanse of workers' apartments built by the workers' state, he cannot control his exclamation: "These people have certainly built something!" The development of the art of acting by the Soviet artists fills him with admiration. Above all, it is the steady courage of the Soviet citizens under fire which almost astonishes him. In little episode after episode, he records how even with Hitler threatening to hammer at the gates of Moscow, these people of the Soviet Union proceeded quietly in their pursuits, organized a civilian defense which he regarded as superior to Britain's, and exemplified a courage which he finally agrees arises from the fact that "the Soviet regime" and the Russian people are identical. "What is it, I often wonder," he writes on July 28, "that makes the Russians fight like this? They are defending *something*, their country, their regime, which, whatever one may say, are all part of the same thing. There is no longer a dividing line between 'Soviet' and 'Russia.'"

It was when Werth went to the front with a group of foreign correspondents in September that he got the eye-opener which could cause this thought to dominate the rest of his diary: "The sufferings of the Russian people are equaled only by their bravery." It made him

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pay homage to that "courage and fine human character" which that one week at the front had permitted him to observe.

As he proceeds through the shell-blasted and charred ruins of villages in the Soviet countryside, he sets down in his diary little pen pictures of the men and women of iron will and sterling character whom he met in the Red Army. It was an experience which caused his friend Cholerton to exclaim: "What a lovely country, and what lovable, lovable people! . . . And there's no doubt about it, all that's best in the country is in the army now."

There is the little A.T.S. girl, for example, whom the correspondents met in the Soviet army camp just out of the village of Dorogobuzh. With other girls, she was cooking for the soldiers. She talked to Werth "at length about her family in Kuibyshev." Then he writes:

"I asked her if her family were not worried about her. 'I suppose they are,' she said. 'But what am I? All of us have a far greater worry; we've got our country to worry about.' She did not say it for effect."

If there is this courage on the part of the Soviet peoples, which leaps out of the pages of this book, there is also the story of the horrible suffering inflicted upon the civilian population by the savagery of the Nazis. There is the account of the barbarity unloosed against Dorogobuzh.

"The whole of the town on this side of the river had been destroyed in July," Werth writes. "For an hour in broad daylight, waves of German planes had showered incendiaries and high explosives on it. There were no troops there at the time; the place was not of the slightest military importance. Men, women, children had been killed—nobody knew how many."

To such indictments are added accounts of the sadistic tortures visited in particular upon young Soviet girls, by Nazi "beasts who had not merely raped them, but murdered them afterwards." The entire picture of Hitlerite degeneracy against the Soviet civilians is summed up in the old woman of Ustinkovka, who had gone mad in the ruins of that village. "She never uttered any articulate word, except the word 'cherti' (the devils)."

Ont of what he saw in Moscow and on the Soviet front, Werth concludes, after his temporary return from London:

"Russia is fighting the most crucial battle against the only Axis partner who counts. When Germany is beaten, neither Italy nor Japan will matter for another day."

He utters a strong appeal for closer relations between Britain and the Soviet Union, which also applies to the United States, and urges that:

"Germany is enemy number one just as much to America as she is to Britain and Russia."

There is a fervor in Werth's pleas for all-out aid to the Soviet front—in war supplies, in military aid, in British-American attacks upon Hitler from the west—which can be caught up by all those who want victory over Hitlerism and know that it can be attained in 1942.

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This thought applies particularly to the American labor movement, with the grave responsibility which history has placed upon it to see that this war is won and with that admiration which it should peculiarly feel toward the mighty achievements of the workers' state. If men springing from the background of former Ambassador Joseph E. Davies and Alexander Werth can be moved so deeply by the courage and offensive spirit of the Soviet people, then the working men of America through their unions can express an even warmer understanding and an even greater determination to see that this battle of the Soviet fighting men and women is brought to an early and victorious conclusion.

There is a touch of political naivete in Werth's first approaches to his Moscow assignment. He had not grasped the sweep and character of the Soviet Union's anti-fascist peace policy, which had led to its championship of collective security, its aid to Spain and China when no other power would help, and its clear understanding of the war-creating nature of fascism. Nor had he understood fully the fifth column and counter-revolutionary character of Trotskyism, though he sees that it would have been injurious to the Soviet peoples and to the world. But, even with such initial handicaps, this British journalist learned from his own experiences the magnificent strength and will of the Soviet fighters.

"Russia has made more sacrifices in her war against Hitler than any other nation," exclaims Werth in his diary, upon his return to London. Those sacrifices and sufferings have been for the defense of America and its unions as well as in defense of the Soviet people's native land. It is not to the credit of America that Lord Marley could state in mid-May that Britain has given ten times as much to Russian War Relief as has all America. It is incumbent upon labor that there be a greater appreciation shown of what these sacrifices have meant, expressed through a hastening of work in Russian War Relief. The entry of the leaders of the three great labor centers—Philip Murray of the C.I.O., William Green of the A. F. of L., and A. F. Whitney of the Railroad Trainmen—into the national board of Russian War Relief gives a new spur to the activities of the unions in this respect.

From the magnificent fight against Hitlerism by the Red Army, which come to us out of the pages of Werth's book, there is also driven home the urgency for the immediate launching of the second front in Europe. Through such bravery and determination as Werth has depicted, the Soviet peoples have bogged Hitler's armies down and have seized the initiative from the "invincible" Nazis. They have presented the golden opportunity to Britain and America to wipe out Hitler and Hitlerism in 1942, through an all-out land attack on the continent of Europe. It is labor's duty and labor's privilege to raise to such heights the cry for the second front that it will be embarked upon, with victory for the United Nations.

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